Archaeology & Indigenous Peoples

MEMORY AND CULTURAL LANDSCAPE AT THE KHAMI WORLD HERITAGE SITE, ZIMBABWE

AN UN-INHERITED PAST

Ashton Sinamai

Memory and Cultural Landscape at the Khami World Heritage Site, Zimbabwe

This book focuses on a forgotten place—the Khami World Heritage site in Zimbabwe. It examines how professionally ascribed values and conservation priorities affect the cultural landscape when there is a disjuncture between local community and national interests, and explores the epistemic violence that often accompanied colonial heritage management and archaeology in southern Africa. The central premise is that the history of the modern Zimbabwe nation, in terms of what is officially remembered and celebrated, inevitably determines how that past is managed. It is about how places are experienced and remembered through narratives and how the loss of this heritage memory may mark the un-inheriting of place.

Memory and Cultural Landscape at the Khami World Heritage Site, Zimbabwe is informed by the author's experience of living near and working at Great Zimbabwe and Khami as an archaeologist, and uses archives and traditional narratives to build a biography for this lost cultural landscape. Whereas Great Zimbabwe is a resource for the state's contentious narrative of unity, and a tool for cultural activism among communities whose cultural rights are denied through the nationalisation and globalisation heritage, at Khami, which has lost its historical gravity, there is only silence.

Researchers and students of cultural heritage will find this book a much-needed case study on heritage, identity, community and landscape from an African perspective.

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Memory and Cultural Landscape at the Khami World Heritage Site, Zimbabwe

An Un-inherited Past

Ashton Sinamai

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In loving memory of my father who taught me to seek knowledge; my mother who taught me how to seek knowledge with humility and my grandmother who taught me to question all 'knowledge'.

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Acronyms

BSAC	British South Africa Company
EMA	Environmental Management Authority
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HMC	Historical Monuments Commission (Natural and Historical Monuments Commission)
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
KDF	Khami Development Fund
MESC	Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture
MLF	Mthwakazi Liberation Front
NACZ	National Arts Council of Zimbabwe
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NGZ	National Gallery of Zimbabwe
NHCC	National Heritage Conservation Commission (Zambia)
NHM	Natural History Museum, Bulawayo
NMMZ	National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe
NPWLA	National Parks and Wildlife Authority
PSIP	Public Sector Investment Programme
QVM	Queen Victoria Museum
RPGZ	Restoration Programme for Great Zimbabwe
SADC	Southern African Development Community
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WHC	World Heritage Committee
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZMHS	Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences (QVM)
ZTA	Zimbabwe Tourism Authority

Preface

The book focuses on a forgotten place: the archaeologically spectacular Khami World Heritage site in Zimbabwe. It examines what really happens to professionally ascribed values and conservation priorities when there is a disjuncture between local and national interests. It also examines the epistemic violence that often accompanied political change (from the historical to the colonial period) and in what way this shaped how heritage landscapes are remembered in south-western Zimbabwe today. The central premise of the book is that the history of the modern Zimbabwe nation, in terms of what it remembers and celebrates, inevitably determines how the past is managed. It also examines how people remember at a local level and how that affects what is regarded as heritage, and why this process of remembering and forgetting has far-reaching consequences on how heritage places are celebrated and managed.

The process of un-inheriting is not just about how the site is being managed but also how the place is remembered, contested and celebrated. Instead, it is about how a heritage place features in the narratives of the local community, in regional identities, as well as narratives of the nation. How the place is remembered reflects on its sustainability; if that sustainability of a heritage place is also its memorialisation by the community. Narratives that appear as myths and legends at the community level and those developed at a national level are the tools for sustaining place in local and national psyche.

There is a collective social process in telling the story; geographies, events and personalities are remembered through such stories. These narratives can bring out the significance of a place without separating the so-called intangibles from the material culture. When a place loses these stories it also loses the significance that emotionally bonds people to it and it can become un-inherited in the process. It can also lose the ability to inspire new stories in new political settings. Therefore, the material culture can continue to be preserved as a generic site type, but the mental geographies of the place are lost.

Indeed, an archaeological site may be very well preserved and accorded global significance (like Khami), but what matters is not how well it is

preserved but how it is remembered and celebrated by communities connected to it. Empathy for place is drawn from how the place is remembered and this can determine how a place is preserved or commodified for tourism. The process of un-inheriting is not at one level; it is a multi-layered refusal to remember the heritage place and a denial of memory by powerful entities within the communities and nation. This is not influenced by a single agent but by a variety of agents, some intentional, while others are unintentional. These processes range from what Stoler (2008) calls 'imperial residue', where the 'debris' of earlier powers still influences how nations remember heritage, to the commodification of that heritage to an extent where it ceases to be culturally recognisable to those who want to remember it (Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). I do not intend to condemn these agents of un-inheriting, instead, I aim to analyse them with the intention of building up a biography of Khami and attempt to understand the processes of remembering and forgetting in a postcolonial situation.

In debating postcoloniality the book engages with Stoler's questions on 'imperial debris' by examining Khami not only as debris of a European colony but also from indigenous imperial formations that existed before colonisation (Torwa, 1450–1691; Rozvi Empires, 1691–1835; Ndebele state, 1835–1894) which also left their mark on the Khami cultural landscape. This, it is hoped, will remove the linear narratives that are usually associated with studies of heritage and postcoloniality. It is thus not just about exposing European colonial 'debris' but it also examines 'imperial debris' caused by these past dominant entities (ancient and historical states) in producing a historical critique of how memory is erased through each of these raptures. That way 'rapture' and 'debris' are not limited to experiences under European entities that dominated Africa. This requires engaging with sources on postcoloniality in order to eliminate the risk of binary reading of the story of Khami (Stoler, 2008; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009; Dlamini, 2009; Meskell, 2011; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013).

For the author, narratives, like myth and legends, mark the presence of interests (religious or otherwise) in a place (the inheriting) (Sinamai, 2015). These narratives may be local and ancient and passed on from generation to generation through established memory practice. They can also be new local narratives of the region or state (local/regional/national identity) and can also include narratives of commodification. The presence of these ancient and modern narratives, combined with the efforts to preserve, mark the inheriting of the place. Conversely, their absence at heritage places like Khami is what makes the cultural landscape un-inherited.

This, however, does not in any way mean the place is not recognised. Khami has the same legal status as Great Zimbabwe as a national monument and a World Heritage Site. The comparison is not, therefore, not to show that Khami has been abandoned but to bring out the different layers of Khami's biography from the time of its abandonment in the 1690s to the present, and show how each of these layers has contributed to the silence

that pervades it today. Indeed, the purpose of the book is to bring out the process of 'ruination' rather than just recreating the lost cultural landscape. Ruination is not only associated with the deterioration of the material heritage but the loss of the immaterial in the minds of descendant and other communities. Chapter 6, which discusses the recovery of the Khami landscape, is meant to make this information usable for practitioners rather than just producing a book that limits my contribution to theory. Though this sounds pedestrian, the issue of many books published by academics being hardly useful for policy makers and practitioners in the field has been highlighted (see Smith, G.S., 2006). The book will avoid taking a positivist and activist approach and focus on theorising issues around the biography of place and practices that contributed to Khami's un-inheriting. Though this may produce a re-mapping of the landscape, the intention is to historicise ruination of Khami through time.

Khami World Heritage Site is one of five World Heritage properties in Zimbabwe but, despite its undeniable historical and archaeological importance, it is forgotten in local and national narratives. This book will be a much needed addition to the literature about the site; there is only one major publication on Khami (Robinson, 1959), and that is more than 50 years old. Existing in the shadow of Great Zimbabwe, Khami has experienced chronic under-funding resulting in serious conservation and management problems. This, accompanied by recent population movements in the region, shifting identities, land ownership disputes and colonial and postcolonial incongruities has left the site un-inherited by both the state and the local communities. Rather than a commemoration of Khami the result is a resounding silence in the national and local narratives, which I refer to as the un-inheriting of the landscape. Commemoration is a ritual of remembering based on experience, performance and long-term memory, and if it is absent the place is un-inherited. Contrasted to these rituals of commemoration are the rituals of commodification which play to the enjoyment of the landscape and short-term memories of the visitors.

To understand how Khami has been un-inherited, I use archives and traditional narratives to build a biography for Khami which I then use to build the lost cultural landscape at Khami. This book is informed by my experience of living near Great Zimbabwe as part of the local community and later as an archaeologist, before moving to Khami as a Project Manager to supervise a new management plan. Working at Great Zimbabwe, one felt being between a rock and a hard place, with a government that saw it as a resource for its contentious narrative of unity, and communities that felt that their cultural rights were being denied through nationalising and globalising of their local heritage.

Unlike Great Zimbabwe, Khami has lost its 'historical gravity' (Mrozowski, 2016: 192); that emotional attraction and attachment that pervades every situation a community or state experiences. Great Zimbabwe looms large in Zimbabwe, having given the country its name. It weighs heavily on the

Zimbabwean psyche and many national events are entangled with its history and physical presence. Independence of Zimbabwe naturally confirms the independent existence and achievements of ancestors who created this ancient state. Development requires the unity displayed by the same ancestors when they designed and constructed this ancient city. The political and economic collapse of the 2000s becomes the 'Zimbabwe Ruins'; a symbol for the mismanagement of the economy that leads to the worst inflation any country has ever experienced. It is the focus of research and the place where archaeological careers are launched by both local and international archaeologists. Its monumental architecture inspires architecture of hotels, airports, office buildings, as well as private residences. At a local level, however – one that is overlooked by governments – Great Zimbabwe is the centre of the cosmological world, controlling nature, lives and futures. Khami, though just as monumental as Great Zimbabwe, is silent and forgotten in such local and national narratives.

My arguments are not to place importance on the monumentality of these heritage places, but on the immaterial things that are experienced and remembered. This book is about how places are remembered through narratives (ancient and modern) that are told about them and how the loss of these narratives may mark the un-inheriting of place. When a heritage place ceases to represent or inspire narratives, both local and national, or shape the behaviour or opinions of people that are supposed to connect to it, it becomes un-inherited. The process of un-inheriting that brings the loss of heritage memory is central to this book.

Though forgetting is a part of remembering, as Graham et al (2004: 104) suggests, 'the reminisced disinherits the forsaken other', this is not a binary process where something forgotten is lost forever. Memory, with its connection to identity, always creates a hierarchy of remembering, and this hierarchy is reflected in what is remembered locally, regionally and nationally. Remembering is not only signposted by materiality but is supported by immaterial things (stories, performances, folk music) that the discipline of archaeology often ignores. In this hierarchy of remembering in Zimbabwe, Khami World Heritage is the 'forsaken other', although celebrated by archaeologists, it is confined to the periphery of the cultural experience and forgotten in the narratives of community or nation. This un-inheriting of Khami is a result of the confluence of circumstances, contexts and time, and it is this conundrum that this book aims to unravel through understanding how people remember their past through time.

Khami is silent (regionally and nationally) with no narratives, no rituals, no implicit politics, conflicts or memorialisation. It is this state in which the past myths of the landscape are forgotten and no new narratives are inspired by it. Khami is an un-inherited place, with a local community that has forgotten it and a nation that is not inspired by its story and has narratives based elsewhere. This silence at and around Khami reinforces the ideas I had already developed at Great Zimbabwe (Sinamai, 1998) that attempts

to define and commemorate a collective past that was always contested by other local pasts and local identities, and that the celebration of a heritage place depends on factors connected to identity, territory, and international, national and local politics. An analysis of Khami demonstrates how the act of forgetting is significant to the process of remembering. Unlike Great Zimbabwe, Khami is neither a sacred landscape nor an *ersatz* marker, and its World Heritage status does not guarantee funding from the government for conservation, nor does it inspire the community to be vocal about its impoverished state of conservation. This book critically analyses the creation of local and national memory in Zimbabwe and examines how the current national collective memory and politics influences what is valued, managed and preserved and what is forgotten. Using Khami as an illustrative and powerful case study, this book will contribute to literature on forgotten places elsewhere.

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The staff of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ) were also supportive to my research. Dr. Godfrey Mahachi (Executive Director of NMMZ) allowed me to interview employees of the NMMZ and gave me an insight into the intricacies of heritage management in Zimbabwe. I am also grateful to NMMZ regional directors and staff in the Southern, Western and Northern Regions who gave me access to archival materials under their care and also participated in interviews I carried out in these regions: Mr. Joseph Muringaniza and staff at the Archaeological Survey, Mr. Lonke Nyoni (Site Manager at Khami and acting Director at the Western Region at the time) and staff in the Archaeology Department at the Natural History Museum. Mr. Mandima and his staff at Great Zimbabwe were also of great assistance during my fieldwork in Zimbabwe. Dr Ezekia Mtetwa gave me access to records in the Archaeology Department and updated my knowledge of heritage issues at Great Zimbabwe. My gratitude is also extended to staff of the National Archives in Bulawayo and Harare for assistance in locating crucial archival material for my book.

I cut my teeth in the discipline of Archaeology with the NMMZ and many colleagues within the organisation have contributed to my development through the debates I have had with them over many years: Onesimo Nehowa, the late Geofrey Chikwanda, Lonke Nyoni, Dr Edward Matenga, Dr. Webber Ndoro and Joseph Chikumbirike come to mind. '*Sekuru*' Leonard

Mugabe and his team of traditional stonemasons taught me most of what I know about dry stone walling and gave me an insight into how communities perceive those heritage places. In Australia, my sounding board was Dr. Herman Kiriama and colleagues in the EB Building, Deakin University with whom I had many lively discussions on memory and collective memory and who also gave me encouraging anecdotes from their own experiences as doctoral students at Deakin University.

I am also indebted to my family, who, in various ways, contributed to the book. The elders of my family fed my mind by passing on traditions that I have struggled to reconcile with the archaeological theories that I later learnt. Others gave me moral and sometimes financial support throughout the duration of this research project, especially during my fieldwork in Zimbabwe. Their contributions have equally made this book possible and I therefore dedicate it to all of them.

Chronology

1040	A Complex state system (Mapungubwe) develops in northern parts of South Africa on the border with Zimbabwe.
1250	Development of the Great Zimbabwe Culture begins with the building of monumental walls at Great Zimbabwe.
1450	Great Zimbabwe is abandoned and two states, Mutapa in northern Zimbabwe and Torwa state in the southeast, with capital at Khami, are developed.
1512	The Portuguese make contact with the Mutapa State.
1690	Khami, the capital of the Torwa state, is destroyed by another Shona dynasty, the Rozvi, who take over as the royal dynasty and move the capital to Danamombe.
1693–95	The Portuguese are expelled from the Zimbabwe plateau by the Rozvi.
1835	The Ndebele, a Nguni group from Zululand (South Africa), arrive on the Zimbabwe plateau and set up a state in the south-western parts of Zimbabwe, taking over from the Rozvi dynasty.
1890	The British, through a Charter company (British South Africa Company) colonise Zimbabwe.
1893	Ndebele revolt against British rule results in the deposing and disappearance of the Ndebele king.
1896	The Shona and Ndebele rebellion against British rule (First *Chimurenga*).
1902	Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance and the National Museum Act enacted.
1923	White settlers vote for responsible government.
1936	Natural and Historical Monuments Act enacted, National Museums Act amended and revised.
1948	First archaeologist Keith Radcliffe Robinson appointed to manage Khami.
1953	Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (also known as the Central African Federation) is formed between Northern

	Rhodesia (Zambia), Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) and Nyasaland (Malawi).
1961	Zimbabwe African People's Union (nationalist party) is formed.
1963	The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland collapses with the independence of Zambia and Malawi. ZAPU splits results in the formation of ZANU (later called ZANUPF).
1965	European settlers declare a Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI) from the United Kingdom. The liberation war begins (*Second Chimurenga*).
1972	The Natural and Historical Monuments Commission and the National Museums are combined through an Act of Parliament (National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia Act) to form the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia.
1980	Zimbabwe gains independence from the British Crown.
1982	Zimbabwe ratifies the World Heritage Convention.
1986	Inscription of Khami and Great Zimbabwe on the World Heritage List.
1987	ZANU PF and ZAPU merge to form new ZANU PF at the end of a civil war, which had lasted four years.
1996	Khami is added to the World Monuments Watch's World Heritage in Danger List.
1999	The Khami World Heritage Site Management Plan is developed.
2000–2009	Zimbabwe plunges into political and economic meltdown that results in the second highest inflation ever experienced in the world.
2008	The Mthwakazi Liberation Front is formed to lobby for the independence of Matabeleland Provinces from Zimbabwe.
2009–2013	Political parties form a unity government to revive the economic and political prospects of the country.

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1 Khami

An un-inherited past

Introduction

> It is no secret that we human beings misremember the past. We forget the moments that make us uncomfortable, commemorate those that validate us, and make up everything in between. There are thus times when we need to unlearn some of what we think about our recent history in order to discover the interesting things that happened there.
>
> (J. Steinberg, Sunday Times (South Africa), 16 December 2012)

In 1999, I transferred from Great Zimbabwe to the Khami World Heritage Site in Zimbabwe to lead the conservation and development programme at the archaeological site. I had worked at the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site for five years, gaining specialised skills in the conservation of dry stone walls and the management of World Heritage properties. After a very successful conservation programme at Great Zimbabwe, many conservation reports on Khami recommended the transfer of skills to the site to arrest the deterioration that it was experiencing (Joffroy, 1998; NMMZ, 1999). A senior traditional stonemason and I were moved to Khami as part of that skills transfer to create a similar conservation programme. The move was triggered by the inclusion of Khami on the World Monuments Watch's 100 Most Endangered Sites List of 1996. The listing came with a grant for the development of a conservation, research and development plan for the site.

Khami is the second largest Zimbabwe Culture site after Great Zimbabwe and marked the spread of complex state systems on the Zimbabwe plateau. It is, indeed, one of the three Zimbabwe Culture sites (with Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe, South Africa) that have been inscribed on the World Heritage List. Its architecture, composed mainly of dry stone platforms is a departure from Great Zimbabwe's architecture which features mainly free-standing walls (see Figure 1.1).

The Zimbabwe Culture is an archaeological culture that marks the development of complex state systems in southern Africa. It is identified mainly

Figure 1.1 The Hill Complex at Khami World Heritage Site
Source: A. Sinamai

by the development of cities built of dry stone walls. The major settlements of this civilisation include Mapungubwe (South Africa), Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Danamombe, Naletale (Zimbabwe), Manyikeni (Mozambique) and Domboshaba (Botswana). Archaeologists have identified a host of heritage values at Khami but this has not changed its fortunes in terms of conservation and management. Built on an area of about 450 hectares, the site is a series of highly decorated stone-built platforms on which houses were constructed. It was nominated a 'national monument' in 1935 on the strength of its archaeological value as well as its aesthetic, historical and scientific values. Later, it was also inscribed on the World Heritage List on the strength of its architectural and archaeological values. However, while Great Zimbabwe has had teams of professional conservators over a very long period, Khami has been languishing in obscurity and general neglect. The identified national and global values have not forced the state to create a management regime that is effective enough to slow down the decay of the cultural landscape. Khami is a forgotten and secularised landscape.

The purpose of this book is to understand forgotten cultural heritage places and the processes of forgetting itself. It uses the Khami World Heritage Site as a case study of places that have fallen off the radar locally and nationally but are celebrated as global heritage due to their monumentality. The book also argues that the history of the nation and how that

history is celebrated, as well as the current contexts in which a heritage place finds itself, determines how that heritage place will be managed. I also examine how places become more important icons for the national narrative than others and how this affects the management of a nation's heritage sites in general. In doing so, the book contributes to the global literature on the relation between universal/national/local heritage and memory and identity. It will also contribute to best practice in heritage management in Zimbabwe, a nation that is deeply divided politically and culturally and has so far failed to take advantage of its diversity.

Moving from Great Zimbabwe, where the national government and local communities constantly monitored and critically assessed every process, the first thing I noticed was the lack of any sort of pressure from stakeholders. There were also no signs of any serious commitment from National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), the quasi-government organisation responsible for the management of heritage places in Zimbabwe. At Great Zimbabwe I was also a local, having been born five kilometres away from the site and being a descendant of the last traditional custodian of the site. I had grown up on stories of the sacredness of the Great Zimbabwe from my grandmother who had lived at the site with her father, Chief Haruzivishe Mugabe of the Duma clan, the custodians of the site in the late 1890s. As a local resident and a professional archaeologist, I had the privilege of having access to both NMMZ's inherent perceptions about the heritage place and to the dissonant voices of the local communities. The subject of concern for local communities was how the sacredness of the place, ownership, access, presentation and conservation were managed by the government, while the NMMZ as the government representatives were more concerned with the conservation of the physical remains and avoiding conflicts that arise between communities that laid claims to the site. Furthermore, NMMZ was also interested in making the site accessible to tourists and constantly portrayed communities as threats to the integrity of the place. Heritage managers, with the backing of the power of the state, hardly acknowledged that they were part of the problems that caused conflicts between themselves and these communities. For local communities, NMMZ was just an extension of state governance, as it depended on the same colonial government laws to control the communities' interaction with Great Zimbabwe.

In the same process, I also realised that the conservation programme at Great Zimbabwe had barely prepared me for the conservation work at Khami, as the architecture of the structures was somewhat different. After embarking on restorations, the stonemason and I both realised that the complexity of the walls at the Khami World Heritage site required an innovative conservation approach. Extrapolating conservation approaches developed at Great Zimbabwe did not give the expected results in Khami's context. I came to understand that the physical context of the place was just as important as the conservation knowledge of the site and that this

extrapolation was a pointer to the need for different care programmes for these two heritage places as well as a different approach to heritage issues at Khami.

I became aware of the fact that a World Heritage Site can have a plethora of values given to it by professionals, but if those values do not reverberate with a local or national narrative, its state of conservation will remain precarious. Khami, a Karanga/Kalanga site in an area with recent shifts in populations and identities, land ownership and vicious colonial and post-colonial conflicts, has not been 'inherited' and this had led to its poor management and a lack of commitment in conserving the landscape. The partisan celebration of national heritage that ignores the feelings and contribution of the 'other' to the national narrative have also led to indifference. This work shows how the state's need for a single national narrative has contributed to the loss of immaterial heritage within the Khami landscape.

The assumption heritage theory makes is that when a site has 'values' it will be conserved. In reality, a heritage place may have many important heritage values inscribed by experts but these will not guarantee its inclusion in collective memories or influence how it is preserved. Heritage theory claims that heritage values trigger conservation action in the first place. But Khami shows that places can only be heritage when they express the value of certain groups in the society (Giaccardi & Palen, 2008: 282). In other words, values are context-dependent and certain cultural settings seem to privilege the production of one type of heritage more than another (Klamer & Zuidhof, 1998: 24). When a place is recognised as 'cultural heritage' by experts, heritage protection and preservation does not always begin. Many heritage institutions attempt to de-politicise conservation through concentrating on the technical issues of preservation and management (Smith, 2004; Logan, Langfield & Nic Craith, 2010: 17) but conservation is a social and political process (Avrami, Mason & de la Torre, 2000: 5). Conservation of heritage places, therefore, is not evaluated and interpreted objectively but is a result of a process of mediation, defined by different social and political factors like cultural rights, contexts and societal trends and economics (Avrami, Mason & de la Torre, 2000: 7).

This process of heritage production creates a centre and a periphery in which heritage places are ranked according to their importance to the dominant ideologies. Some heritage places are more pronounced, while others are deliberately subdued. Heritage thus has to be considered as a mental presence on a landscape as well as a physical entity. When that mental presence on a landscape is missing, it is difficult to argue for the conservation of that heritage place though it may still be regarded as important for its generic nature (Pierce, 2000: 60). Khami has been relegated to this periphery and has lost ancestral and national audience. The contradiction is that, although Khami is in this cultural periphery both locally and nationally, it was nominated for and subsequently inscribed on the World Heritage List.

According to NMMZ's National Monuments lists, Khami is the second most important cultural heritage place in Zimbabwe. It is also a World Heritage property, a status that is viewed with a sense of pride by the government. Nomination for World Heritage status was mainly determined by the need to emphasize the nation's narrative based on the stone built palaces of ancient kings. The name 'Zimbabwe' is an anglicised version of *Dzimbabwe,* literally means houses of stones (palaces) and this may have influenced nomination of more of these sites on the World Heritage List. This has not, however, translated into high-profile research about conservation, nor has it been a narrative resource. Since its 'discovery', there has only been one major publication on the archaeology of Khami (Robinson, 1959) and there has been very little research (e.g., Summers, 1967) on its architecture and its conservation. This book fills in this gap in research in management and conservation and argues that the position in which the Khami World Heritage Site finds itself has been pre-determined by the political, social and economic priorities of Zimbabwean governments over the years. Developing this argument entails the assessment of conservation history of sites in Zimbabwe, particularly Khami, as well as the research agendas of scientists and the political expediency of the state. The focus on the conservation and research of Great Zimbabwe and other selected sites is culturally deliberate and this has relegated sites like Khami, a site that has been recognised as having universal values, to the margins of commemoration.

The values that are present at Khami are largely ignored when they come into competition with national values that prioritise 'national unity'. Khami marks a point of division in the ancient Great Zimbabwe state through a civil war (into Mutapa in the north and Torwa at Khami), an issue that the new narrative of unity avoids. Its celebration is thus subdued, as the state does not want these narratives to destabilise the 'unitary state narrative' that it celebrates. These issues have not received much attention by researchers who have mainly concentrated on heritage places that relate to these national projects. With the economic, social and political problems that Zimbabwe is experiencing today, these issues need to be examined, as they will still affect how the nation that will emerge out of the current crisis will commemorate its heritage places like Khami, as well as minority heritage places.

The book is about how places are remembered through narratives (ancient and modern) that are told about them and how the loss of these narratives may mark the un-inheriting of place. When a heritage place ceases to represent or inspire narratives both local and national, or shape the behaviour or opinions of people that are supposed to connect to it, it becomes un-inherited. The result of that process brings about the loss of a heritage place and this is the central focus of this book. Khami is silent (regionally and nationally) with no narratives, no religion, no implicit politics, conflicts or memorialisation. It is this state in which the past myths of the landscape are forgotten and no new narratives are inspired by it. Khami thus becomes an un-inherited place, with a local community that has

forgotten it and a nation that is not inspired by its story and has narratives based elsewhere. This silence at and around Khami reinforces the ideas I had already developed at Great Zimbabwe (see Sinamai, 1998) that attempts to define and commemorate a collective past that is always contested by other local pasts and local identities, and that the celebration of a heritage place depends on factors connected to identity, territory, and international, national and local politics.

An analysis of Khami demonstrates how the act of forgetting is significant to the process of remembering. Unlike Great Zimbabwe, Khami is neither a sacred landscape nor an *ersatz* marker, and its World Heritage status does not guarantee funding from the government for conservation, nor the community to be vocal about its impoverished state of conservation. This book critically analyses the creation of local and national memory in Zimbabwe and examines how the current national collective memory and politics influences what is valued, managed and preserved and what is forgotten. Using Khami as an illustrative and powerful case study, this book will contribute to literature on forgotten places.

The book investigates the creation of national memory in Zimbabwe and examines how the current national collective memory influences what is valued, managed, preserved and presented to the world. It revisits and analyses the criteria for existing rationale in identification, nomination, management and conservation of national monuments and World Heritage sites in Zimbabwe. It also examines how issues of site context, culture and cultural change, identity, cultural diversity, cultural and human rights have shaped management policies of heritage sites like the Khami World Heritage Site. With a past that is marked by racial and ethnic conflict, this kind of study feeds into issues of resolving conflict, identity and cultural rights in Zimbabwe and may offer lessons for conflict resolution at heritage sites elsewhere.

Several questions underpin this book. Is the lack of interest in Kalanga/ Shona heritage from the largely Ndebele groups that live close to Khami, a knee-jerk response to the hegemonic Shona national narrative? Is the site not significant enough nationally and was it just nominated to World Heritage status as part of a range of symbols to 'franchise' national heritage to international audiences and show the ancientness of the new nation to the world? What part have the 'three spheres' of conservation (Avrami, Mason & de la Torre, 2000: 7)—culture, politics and economics—played in the neglect of Khami? Is the conservation of Khami held back to free resources to preserve heritage places that promote diversity? Does a skewed interpretation of national history and academic bias lead to disproportionate emphasis on some heritage places? Is there a narrative powerful enough to gather sufficient resources for the Khami site to be appropriately managed, conserved and developed?

Besides the loss of its integrity through neglect, the stories and myths linking communities to Khami have also disappeared. However, sustainability

of heritage is not only a physical effort but is a part of an ideology that is supported by a 'metaphor network' represented by these stories and myths. Heritage management in Zimbabwe, however, concentrates on preserving the physical remains without the recognition of the narratives and stories associated with heritage places. This study therefore explores the conditions necessary to engage in acts of remembering within the local communities, as well as within the national narrative.

One of the major issues that arise when dealing with heritage, nationalism, national narratives and cultural diversity is that there is very little literature that deals specifically with African countries. The Khami World Heritage Site itself hardly has any literature, with just a single book published in 1959 and a few guidebooks meant largely for tourists. The site has not attracted either internal or external researchers and this has resulted in the lack of publications about the site. This book, therefore, had to depend largely on materials in the archives of cultural institutions in Zimbabwe, as well as interviews that I carried out in those institutions along with members of the public. Newspaper articles, especially from the recent years when politics was polarised, provided a window into the thinking of those who created the dominant narratives. On the other hand, the lack of publications on Khami means that this book has the potential to become a major source of information on this World Heritage site. More importantly, however, it shines light on how far heritage sites can become disinherited when the multiplicity of cultures are ignored in defining territory, and what measures can be taken to address a situation where a globally celebrated site is neglected through a selective celebration of national heritage. This neglect is not only physical but a mental abandonment that is created through ruptures of a series of state systems that changed identities and new perceptions of heritage in western Zimbabwe. Khami is thus not only a construct of the colonial government, but an accumulation of cultural 'debris' of several entities that established themselves in western Zimbabwe.

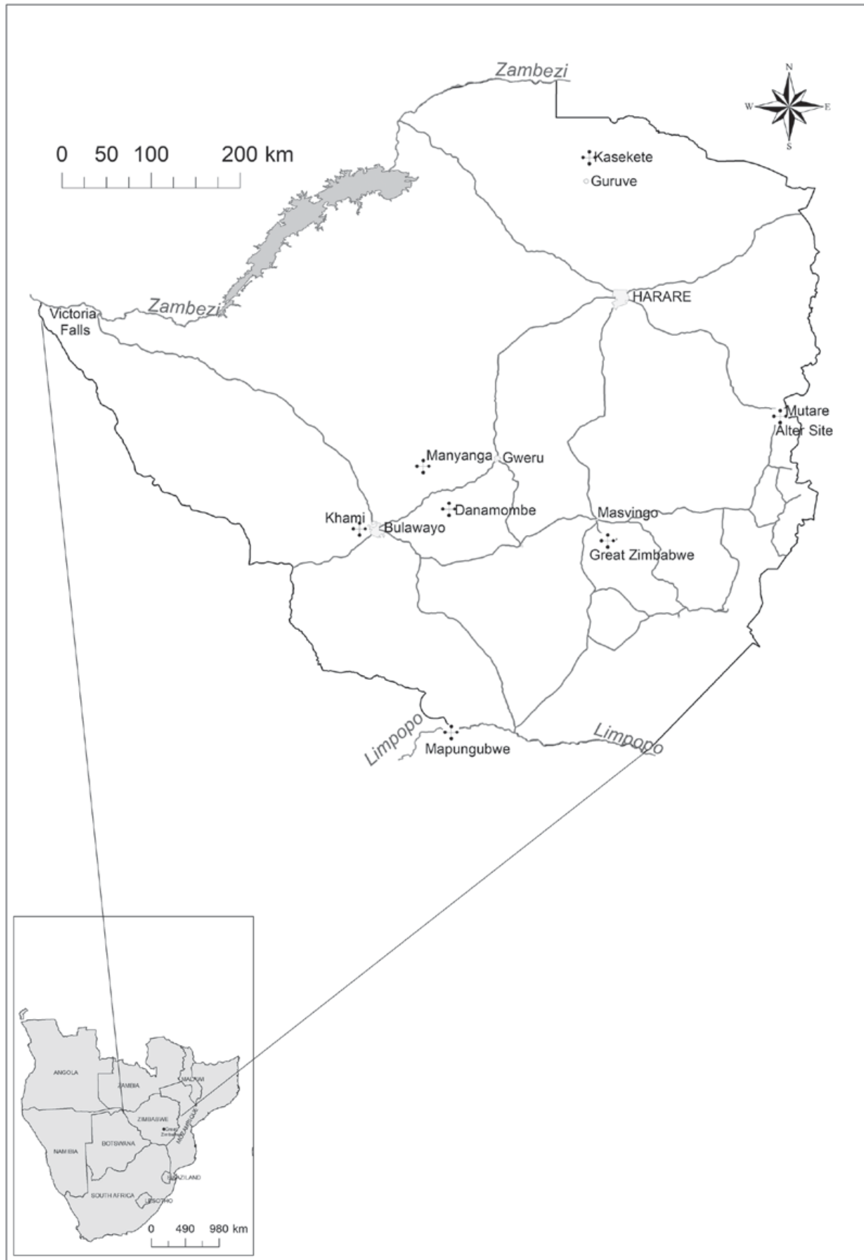
2 Placing Khami

The Zimbabwe culture

The Zimbabwe Culture is an archaeological tradition that describes at least five political entities representing Karanga/Kalanga (Shona) kingdoms, which succeeded each other for a period of over a millennium and extended from the Kalahari Desert fringes to the coastal areas of Mozambique (Pikirayi, 2001). Generally, most of these political entities were in the areas that are drained by two major rivers of southern Africa: the Zambezi in the north and the Limpopo in the south. This area has a fairly mild climate, with temperature ranges between 18 and 32 degrees Celsius on the plateau and higher temperature ranges of 20 to 42 degrees Celsius in the riverine lowlands. Being well drained, this plateau rarely has the problems that are experienced by neighbouring regions, such as floods, long-term droughts and cyclones. It has very fertile soils that are suitable for mixed farming. Access to alluvial gold meant that gold was easily available for the upper classes to trade with the outside world, including Arab, Persian and Chinese merchants who frequented the East African Coast. This archaeological tradition is represented by over 350 ruined towns, most of which have dry stone walls. Over the past 100 years, this tradition has attracted the attention of antiquarians, astronomers, archaeologists, architects and politicians, as well as the general public who have been fed by the different narratives each of these interested parties has created. The resulting narratives have ranged from bizarre myths about an early Aryan civilisation, aliens and to ultra-nationalist pan-African narratives about the achievements of black people throughout the world. In between are archaeological narratives that remove people from the story and expound archaeological cultures as if people were not involved in building and maintaining them.

The Zimbabwe Culture's distinction is the idea of a greater society in which people looked beyond their immediate environment for resources and markets. The period marks the development of urbanisation in southern Africa with the development of cities and towns that concentrated populations and saw the development of specialisation of trades (see Map 2.1).

It also marks the intensification of trade with the East African Coast and the African interior as well as the stratification of society into elites



Map 2.1 Zimbabwe showing the major heritage places of the Zimbabwe Culture

and commoners. Explanations to why this complex society developed on the Zimbabwean plateau and its fringes vary but there is evidence of new livestock management methods in addition to the development of gold mining on a commercial scale (Pikirayi, 2001). This in turn, led to the rise of secluded, sacred kings and religious elites who controlled the huge herds of cattle and controlled trade in gold, copper, iron and ivory (Pikirayi, 2001; Huffman, 2009: 50).

These states include: the Mapungubwe polity (AD 1040–1270), the earliest manifestation of this culture; Great Zimbabwe (AD 1200–1550), which controlled much of the Zimbabwe plateau and lowlands to the Mozambican coast and eastern Botswana; Torwa (AD 1450–1691) and Mutapa 1550–1902), which were states formed after the break-up of Great Zimbabwe; and lastly the Rozvi state AD 1691–1835), which took over the Torwa polity. These states have left numerous stone-built cities and towns that are today major archaeological sites and tourist destinations in Zimbabwe, South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique. The distinguishing feature of these cities is the distinct class system in which the royal and religious elites lived within the stone-walled areas while commoners lived cheek by jowl outside these walls. Indeed excavations in commoner areas have shown houses so close together that their roof must have been touching.

These Zimbabwe Culture settlements also display a stratified spatial arrangement in which the royal residences were always higher than residences of lesser royals and commoners. Each of these towns, therefore, has what is referred to as a ‘hill complex’ where the royal palace was located, with the stone-built settlements for lesser royals and commoner areas without stone walls around the periphery. These differences were also pronounced by the material culture and debris found in each of these areas. Analysis of bones from the royal and commoner areas has shown that the elite consumed prime beef from cattle that were not more than two years old while the commoners depended on old stock and wild animals (Thorp, 1995: 44). Artefacts of personal adornment found at these sites also show that gold was mostly a preserve for the nobles, as the majority of gold artefacts was found within the elite areas.

In most countries that these sites are found, and indeed beyond southern Africa, the Zimbabwe Culture sites are viewed with pride. Thabo Mbeki, then the President of South Africa, illustrated the dignity they gave to Africans in one of his speeches on the pet project, the ‘African Renaissance’, a pan-Africanist concept that encouraged Africa to rise to the level of its past and chart new directions in development in a modern world:

> The beginning of our rebirth as a Continent must be our own rediscovery of our soul, captured and made permanently available in the greater works of creativity represented by the pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, the stone buildings of Axum, the ruins of Carthage and Zimbabwe, the

> rock paintings of the San, the Benin bronzes and African masks, the carving of the Makonde and the stone sculpture of the Shona.
>
> (Mbeki, 1998: 296)

The Zimbabwe Culture sites, therefore, do not only feature prominently as selective achievements of the whole African continent, but has been one of the most politically manipulated heritage in the world. In a colonial world where natives (both elite and commoner) become the subaltern, their voice disappears from the dominant narratives that shape policies for research and management of cultural heritage. The native subaltern is also conditioned to see his/her heritage and culture as inferior through targeted actions on what he/she eats and what language he/she speaks (Barnes 1928; Howman 1942; Baker Jones 1956; Jeater 2006). For example, Howman (1942) records how native diets were changed to suit the industrial work in newly created towns in Rhodesia.

Archaeology and heritage conservation, as a preserve of the coloniser, was not in the habit of taking native knowledge into the mainstream western system. As Zimbabwe Culture sites like Great Zimbabwe are monumental, it was difficult to attribute a 'civilisation' to a subaltern class that was meant to be civilised by interaction with European culture. Being a discipline that traces social evolution from primitive to more complex societies, archaeology was useful to colonialism in Africa as it could be used to show the evolution of societies, with Africa as the primitive stage of civilisation (Lydon & Rizvi, 2010: 142). It produced visible knowledge with which to understand the colonised and was used to discipline European lower classes, as it showed how advanced they were compared to the natives.

Colonial conquest and domination also created territorial and local boundaries, that later became research boundaries for archaeologists working on the Zimbabwe Culture. The Shona-related groups, which were part of this civilisation, were divided between Zimbabwe, South Africa, Botswana and Mozambique and the research agendas of each of these colonies were different. Among the subaltern, identities based on heritage found within the new territories began to emerge. The result is the current situation in which, for example, the Venda in South Africa see themselves as having a deeper connection to the Zimbabwe Culture than anyone else has, or the Kalanga of Botswana's claim that the civilisation was entirely Kalanga and the rest of the Shona are later arrivals on the Zimbabwe plateau (Moyo, 2012). Other groups like the Remba clan in Zimbabwe and South Africa (who claim Jewish ancestry) have also laid claims to the ruins and have been the new source for the 'out-of-Africa' researchers and pseudo-historians. The Shona in Zimbabwe also have this perception that they are the only ethnic group with definite ancestral connection to the Zimbabwe Culture, and this has been encouraged by researchers who refer to it as a 'Shona civilisation'. The various narratives that emerge from this dismembering of the culture have been used to create new histories by communities and states that emerged

from the colonial experience, as well as by archaeologists, historians and pseudo-historians working in these various states (Beach, 1980; Pikirayi, 2001; van Waarden, 2012; Moyo, 2012). It is intriguing that in all these colonial and postcolonial contestations, Khami is not an important resource for these narratives, which all seem to target Great Zimbabwe and other local sites within the wider Karanga/Kalanga territories like Domboshaba in Botswana or Dzata in South Africa.

The following archaeological descriptions have, of course, been carved out of this same academic, social and political environment described above. This limiting environment has defined the boundaries of the sites and interpreted them according to the political, academic and social environment on the ground. The narrative that emerges is a result of disconnections of the communities through new borders and mediation of identities through experiences of new spaces, and therefore does not present a complete story. It is an archaeological narrative that is partial as it is based on fragmented evidence and the challenge of 'temporal distance' (Lucas, 2010: 245). The archaeological background I present here is therefore an outline of the history of the Zimbabwe Culture shaped by academics, often with little contribution from local populations and within the limitation of the new political borders, as well as the cultural borders of the discipline of archaeology itself. The places described are what has been demarcated as 'sites' through empirical archaeological research and the descriptions do not include the voices of communities that have ancestral connections to the place. The knowledge that informs these descriptions are essentially from outside Africa and tend to remove the present communities from that distant past.

Mapungubwe (AD 1040–1270)

The Mapungubwe state was based in the lowlands of the Limpopo-Shashe confluence and was a state that took advantage of an emerging trade between Asia and the East African coast. The site, which is in South Africa, close to the border with Zimbabwe, marks a transformation of social and political systems in southern Africa, with an increase in the population living in the Limpopo Valley and surrounding areas and commercial exploitation of resources.

This increase in population was accompanied by a similar increase in the size of cattle herds kept by these farmers. However, the major transformation was in how society was organised: a class of people emerged with more access to resources than the rest of the population, as shown by burials with gold artefacts and imported goods like glass beads, cloth, Islamic and Chinese ceramics, and other goods found in elite areas. A class of craftsmen also emerged to support these elites, including goldsmiths, courtiers as well as stone masons to build the stone walls that marked royal residences. Others began to trade in ivory and mining on a larger scale

Figure 2.1 The Mapungubwe Hill
Source: S. Chirikure

to support the demand for iron, copper and gold by the elite and by the traders on the East African coast. The Mapungubwe state covered much of the Limpopo Valley including parts of southern Zimbabwe and eastern Botswana (Pikirayi, 2001).

It is the capital of the first state to display the typical Zimbabwe Culture spatial arrangement in which there was a sharp social stratification, with an elite royal group living in houses within stone walls, usually on higher ground (see Figure 2.1) and eating better than the commoners who lived outside the stone-walled areas (Huffman, 2000: 14). This class distinction was maintained by sacred leadership, with the king also being the religious leader of the state. The collapse of Mapungubwe seems to have been caused by climatic changes, which saw the decrease of rainfall in the Shashe-Limpopo Valley from 500 millimetres to 340 millimetres in the tenth century (O'Connor & Kiker, 2004). It could also have been quickened by the undermining of the trade with the East African coast by an offshoot state based at Great Zimbabwe. After its abandonment, the site continued to be revered by local populations until the area was divided into farms and local populations removed in the early 1900s. The site became inaccessible to these local populations due to the land appropriation laws. The land was later consolidated into a wildlife park owned by various farmers and the government in the 1970s and 1980s.

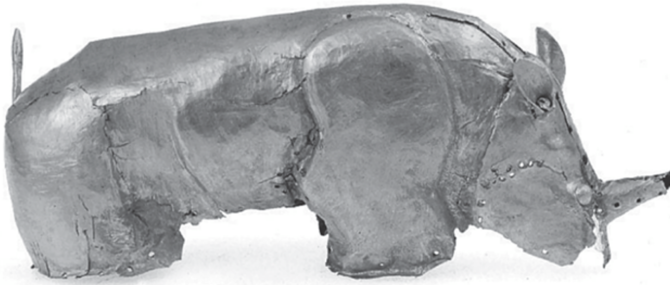


Figure 2.2 The Golden Rhino found at Mapungubwe, now recognised as the 'greatest icon of South Africa'

Source: S. Tiley-Nel, Wikipedia

Excavated by Leo Fouche in 1935, the site of Mapungubwe presented a major problem to the historiography of the South African state that justified its existence on arrival of the Dutch Afrikaner at the same time as the African populations. Excavations on the Hill Complex produced numerous gold artefacts displaying some sophistication in gold smithing (see Figure 2.2) as well as evidence of trade with Asia. Instead of generating excitement, these archaeological discoveries threatened Afrikaner nationalism and its apartheid ideology which was based entirely on the superiority of the white race and the absence of any form of civilisation in Africa. Mapungubwe was never declared a national monument and the gold artefacts found at the site were stored on the fourteenth floor of a building at the University of Pretoria and rarely seen by the public (Pikirayi, 2011). An attempt to declare a national park in the present Mapungubwe World Heritage Cultural Landscape was strongly resisted by Afrikaner nationalists in parliament. Though the park was established by an act of parliament in 1946, it was revoked when the Afrikaner nationalists took over government in 1948 (Carruthers, 2017). In the mid-1980s, this area became an army reserve, with sections of the park dedicated to rehabilitating gay soldiers and soldiers addicted to drugs (Carruthers, 2017).

Mapungubwe was only declared a national monument in 1983, six decades after its excavation in 1932. In the new South Africa, the site became the focus of the African Renaissance and the golden artefacts have become the most important artefacts for the young nation. It has also been a centre of contestation with the local Venda advocating for and reclaiming human remains for reburial of their 'ancestors'. Reburial ceremonies of human remains have been undertaken at Mapungubwe with the involvement of the Venda communities (Pikirayi, 2011: 17) and this has also fuelled land claims by some Venda clans, showing that heritage is not an esoteric adventure for identity but is also linked to people's livelihoods. It is also one

of the properties that South Africa has managed to inscribe on the World Heritage List (in 2003) and there are current efforts to create a much bigger transfrontier park (Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area) with Botswana and Zimbabwe. Mapungubwe thus is not just the premier World Heritage property of South Africa but a reflection of the awkwardness of the colonial borders.

It is expected that this whole area will become the new extended World Heritage Cultural Landscape (South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2003) and negotiations between the three countries are still on-going. South Africa has been driving the creation of the park as part of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) integration project, which the three countries belong to, along with 11 other southern and eastern African countries. It is core to South Africa's Mapungubwe Tourism Development Initiative, which aims to develop tourism in the Limpopo Province. As the first manifestation of the Zimbabwe Culture, which is found in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa, Mapungubwe represents the common origins of an important heritage type for the three nations and for certain groups of people in those three countries that form the core of the SADC. With Great Zimbabwe, it denotes a utopic pre-European past of southern Africa before the establishment of colonial borders. They represent a period of freedom in which local cultures could grow without the impediments of land alienation and the indignities of racial segregation that came with colonialism. However, though these heritage places are used in regional integration narratives, heritage does not appear as one of the 'themes' that SADC intends to use in the integration of the region (see SADC website). The SADC region has 38 of 129 African World Heritage sites, ranging from human origins to African civilisations, 18 Transfrontier Parks and yet it does not have any protocols on cultural heritage.

Mapungubwe gained prominence in South Africa under the Thabo Mbeki government. His concept of an African Renaissance, in which Africa re-emerges economically, socially and culturally to take up its place among other continents of the world, was largely based on the presentation of African cultural heritage to the rest of the world. Hence, the ancient archives of Timbuktu, the Zimbabwe Culture sites of southern Africa and the ancient Ethiopian cities and temples all featured prominently in the narrative of reclaiming and restoring a more confident Africa. South Africa was the 'Origins of Mankind' (through Cradle of Mankind sites) and in Mapungubwe, it also has the origins of civilisation in southern Africa (Lodge, 2003) reflecting the nation's inclusive nature in a new post-apartheid world. Through this period of branding Mapungubwe as the 'Golden Age' of southern Africa, the nation embraced the cultural landscape as its national heritage. The resonance of this message of a united and successful Africa with no colonial borders is, however, lost to the South African public, especially in the face of regular violent xenophobic attacks on people from other African countries.

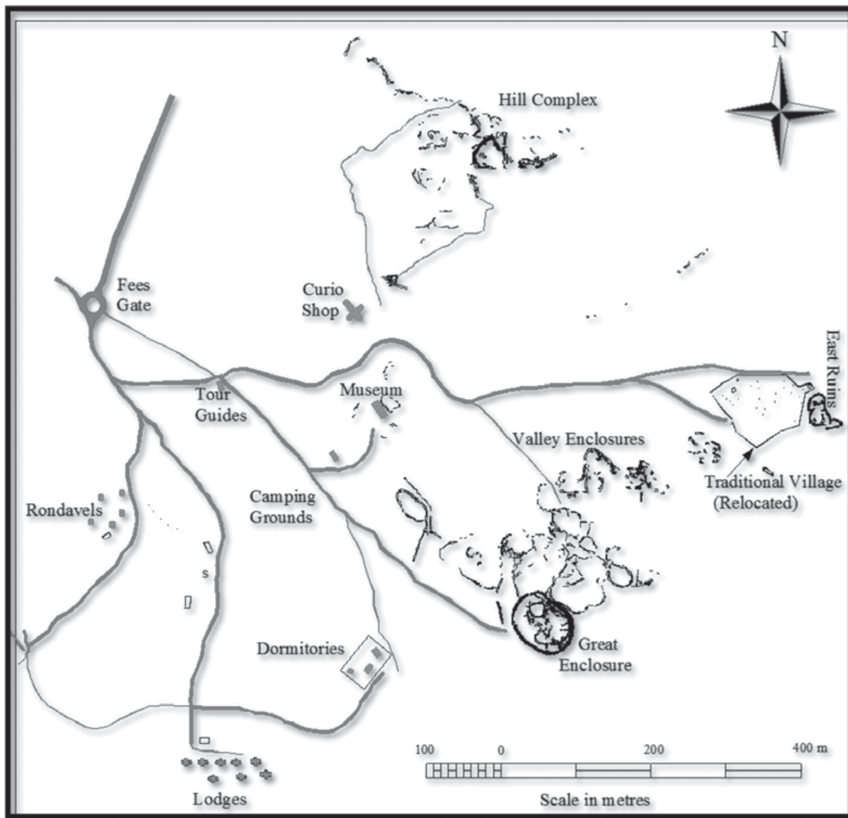
Great Zimbabwe (AD 1200–1550)

Great Zimbabwe was the centre of a state that expanded slowly between AD 1200–1550 to include the Zimbabwe plateau, the fringes of the desert in Botswana, northern South Africa and central Mozambique. This state was responsible for consolidating much of the areas on the Zimbabwe plateau through regional centres built to monitor the outlying areas of the state. Over 64 Zimbabwe Culture sites are from the same period as Great Zimbabwe, including sites like Manyara in Manica, Mozambique, Manyikeni on the Mozambican coastal plain, Tsindi, Zvongombe and Chipadze in northern Zimbabwe, as well as Chibvumani, Matendere and Muchuchu in southern Zimbabwe and Vukwe in eastern Botswana. As a capital, Great Zimbabwe had a huge population living in areas demarcated for different classes. The elite (royal household, religious leaders) lived in the stone-walled area while the commoners lived in the open areas outside the stone walls. Houses were built inside the monumental stone walls. The stone walls were only meant to represent prestige and status of the occupier and were not for defensive purposes. The fact that there were no water sources within the royal stone-walled areas easily demonstrates how vulnerable the site would be under siege (Pikirayi, 2001: 132; see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3 A view of the walls of Great Zimbabwe from the air
Source: E. Mtetwa and D. Löwenborg

The total population of the city at its zenith is estimated to be between 12,000 and 18,000 people. It is estimated that only five per cent of the population lived within the stone-walled royal areas (Huffman, 1996; 4; Pikirayi, 2001: 130). The Great Zimbabwe phase is marked by monumental stone walls especially at Great Zimbabwe itself, where walls are 12 metres high and over 6 metres wide at the base. The walls are constructed of granite blocks quarried from the various domes surrounding the site. The walls are only bonded by the friction of the blocks against each other and by the battering inwards of the wall that brings the centre of gravity to the midpoint of the wall. The site of Great Zimbabwe was eventually abandoned in the sixteenth century due to either a civil war or an environmental degradation.

Great Zimbabwe covers an area of 720 hectares and is composed of a number of areas that include the Hill Complex, the Valley Enclosures as well as the Great Enclosure (see Map 2.2). There are other open areas in



Map 2.2 Stone walling and facilities at Great Zimbabwe
Source: Great Zimbabwe Conservation Centre

which the commoners stayed. Within this landscape are also quarry sites from where the stones used in the building of the city were extracted. The Hill Complex is built on a steep hill and is only accessed by two narrow stepped paths from the north and south. The sides of the hill were terraced and houses were constructed on these terraces. It is the Hill which locals refers to as '*Dzimbabwe*' (anglicised to Zimbabwe), literally translated to mean 'house of stones' but has come to mean a palace or for a king's grave. This is the part of the site that local communities usually use for ritual ceremonies, though evidence of rituals has been found in the Great Enclosure as well. The Great Enclosure itself is the largest single building in Africa south of the Sahara.

Great Zimbabwe was succeeded by two states, the famous Mutapa State in the north (referred to as an Empire by the Portuguese) and the Torwa state to the south-west. Both states continued building cities with monumental buildings but the practice was more prevalent and developed in the west where the Torwa state was located. The Torwa, who had had their capital at Khami, continued with the tradition of constructing monumental stone buildings.

The Mutapa state was better known to the outside world because of the presence of the Portuguese on the eastern African coast from the sixteenth century onwards. With fewer movements of people, oral history of the state survived into the twentieth century and has informed writings on this state. This state existed between 1550 and 1902, until it was eventually destroyed after both Portuguese and British colonial conquest. Though the Torwa and Mutapa states were distinct entities, they were related by language and culture. The Mutapa state expanded to include much of northern Zimbabwe and central Mozambique through the exploitation of alluvial gold and ivory. However, it failed to maintain its territories due to constant political interference and economic manipulation by the Portuguese, and later the Rozvi who took over the Torwa state (Pikirayi, 2001: 157).

Unlike Mapungubwe, which was concealed under the apartheid state that saw Mapungubwe as a challenge for its narratives of white superiority, Great Zimbabwe has always been in the limelight and has been central to the narratives of the colonial state. Its interpretation was subject to notorious pseudo-academic controversies, which variously claimed that the site was Phoenician, Arab, Jewish and even Indonesian, but not African (Bent, 1893; Hall, 1904; Bruwer, 1965; Gayre, 1972; Hromnik, 1981). Though research at the site and many other smaller towns scattered through four southern African countries has shown that they are of local origin, these out-of-Africa narratives continue to feature in 'alternative' interpretations of Great Zimbabwe. The 'controversies' were very much a part of the conditioning of the 'native mind' (Jeater, 2006) but they failed to stop the rise of nationalism in Zimbabwe. Instead of dislocating native history these controversies actually rallied the colonised population to think of themselves as a nation with deeper history. 'Zimbabwe', the anglicised version of the Shona word

'*Dzimbabwe*', emerged as the preferred name for those calling for independence. Great Zimbabwe was thus central to building postcolonial identities. In post-independent Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe is usually referred to as 'the premier monument' and is revered not only in Zimbabwe but in the Africa and its diaspora world. It is the best preserved of the Zimbabwe Culture sites, with a dedicated team that monitors movement of stone walls on a weekly basis and uses the data to predict the outcome of any problem being experienced by the wall. Its state of conservation is a reflection of its 'inherited' status not only as a Zimbabwean site but also as a heritage place that evokes emotional responses from people of African descent. There are, of course contestation of this postcolonial interpretation which is not far removed from the colonial one. For local communities Great Zimbabwe is part of a sacred landscape, not a 'site' and tourist destination. Denial of rights to practice their religion within the site of Great Zimbabwe has been a major bone of contention. Interpretations have remained archaeological and traditional skills used in the conservation of the site are still viewed as subservient to western methods.

Khami (AD 1450–1693)

The Portuguese provide descriptions of life in the Mutapa (king's) court, which has also been used to fill in missing information on Khami and Great Zimbabwe. They also provided information on the establishment of the Torwa state of which Khami was the capital. From written evidence from the Portuguese, we know that there was a rebellion in the Mutapa State between 1490 and 1547, which resulted into a group of rebels referred to as 'outsiders' (*vatogwa/batogwa in Karanga/Kalanga*) establishing another state (Beach, 1998). This Torwa state built Khami as its capital and established a large state that covered much of southern and western Zimbabwe and eastern Botswana. There is a research vacuum on the history of the Torwa/Togwa state as it is often combined with the Rozvi state, which was established on the foundation of this earlier state in the 1690s. This lack of engagement by archaeologists and historians has resulted in a silence about the state and this silence has led to the disappearance of the Torwa state from collective memory. Its absence is also a result of the several layers of identity created by the several states that developed in this area after the demise of the Torwa and in a way is marked by the absence of Khami in the local and national psyche. The forgetting of the political entity of the Torwa also marked the beginning of the loss of Khami in the modern Zimbabwean narratives of the past.

After its establishment, little is known and the city of Khami is hardly mentioned by the Portuguese, who were trading with the Mutapa in the north-east. It is however, mentioned in the seventeenth century by Portuguese sources, when it was ransacked by another Mutapa rebel who was to later establish the Rozvi dynasty, which ruled from another Zimbabwe Culture

site, Danamombe (Mudenge, 1988). The Rozvi ruled much of southern Zimbabwe until the arrival in the 1830s of Nguni groups from South Africa's Zululand. During their rule, they had managed to help the Mutapa state to expel the Portuguese from the Zimbabwe plateau to operate from the coastal areas of Mozambique. Several cities that may have already been built when they took over are to be found in Central Zimbabwe with some on the fringes of the Kalahari Desert, as well as in the eastern parts of Zimbabwe. These include Danamombe, which was the capital city after Khami and Naletale, which has the most decorated stone walls amongst the 350 Zimbabwe Culture sites.

Khami is located about 22 kilometres from the city centre of Bulawayo. The site covers an area of over 600 hectares with only 420 hectares being managed by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ). There are also a considerable number of small ruins associated with Khami within a radius of 10 kilometres from Khami. It is the second largest cultural heritage site after Great Zimbabwe and was declared a 'national monument' in 1938, largely because of its monumental nature. The World Heritage property at Khami is composed of a group of nine stone-built platforms on an area of 420 hectares. There are, however, six other stone-walled sites directly associated with Khami which are not part of the World Heritage property. The area also contains archaeological sites ranging from the Stone Age to the historical period. Though the site is inscribed for its stone walls there are a variety of sites associated with the building and settlement of Khami that include granite quarries, pits from which the soil to build the platforms was dug, games etched on rock, middens, as well as grinding surfaces (see Map 2.3). Most of these places are not mentioned in the World Heritage nomination document, which was prepared in the mid-1980s when the World Heritage Committee did not demand detailed information about the place being nominated. These sites are, however, very important especially in the interpretation of the site but are never presented to tourists.

The stone walls are the obvious feature of the site today and mark an area only occupied by ten per cent of the population, as the rest stayed in houses away from centre. The site is composed of ten stone-walled house platforms, namely the Hill Complex, Monolith, Cross, Vlei, Passage, Precipice and North Ruins, as well as minor ruins, one of which is now under the waters of the Khami Dam.

These three minor platforms have been greatly disturbed by developments in the area including the building of the dam and the waterworks. One of the ruins across the Khami River near the waterworks was affected by the building of staff houses, the waterworks as well as the dam. The other was located on Hyde Park Farm until 2000, when the land was transferred to the NMMZ. Hyde Park was owned by the Apostolic Faith Mission, a conservative church that saw anything traditional, including ruins, as un-Christian.

Map 2.3 Archaeologically sensitive areas in the Khami World Heritage Estate (NMMZ, 1999)

These stone-walled platforms were dismantled and the stone was used to build a church on the farm. The most central feature of this landscape, however, is the Khami River that flows through the ruins.

Description of Khami

The different parts of the site have names that reflect some physical feature associated with it. Robinson, however, reveals in his book that locals called the Hill Complex at Khami, '*Zimbabgi*', a term also used for royal palaces in much of Zimbabwe (Robinson, 1959: 159). At Great Zimbabwe, the Hill Complex is still traditionally known as *Dzimbabwe* and the Great Enclosure is referred to as *Imbahuru*, 'the Queen's residence'. The names for the different parts of Khami as well as the whole city itself do not seem to have survived. This marks the loss of oral history and connection with the site as identities changed with the population movements of the 1830s to the present.

The Hill Complex

This is the largest concentration of stone walling at Khami and is on a hill that overlooks the Khami river gorge. It is composed of three large platforms (Lower Platform, Middle Platform and the Upper Platform). The Upper

Figure 2.4 The Hill Complex at the Khami World Heritage Site
Source: A. Sinamai

Platform was the residence of the king as it is the highest. It has remains of nine houses all probably used by the king's household. It is approached by two passages from the south and northeast, both of which were covered. Remains of the wooden posts that were holding the roof have been found along both passages.

The southern passage passes through all three platforms and is thought to have been a public entrance. This is supported by a semi-circular house at the end of the passage in which divining bones and bones of animals like lions and leopards were found (Robinson, 1959). All three platforms are highly decorated but have been affected by several collapses of the stone walls. The platforms are decorated with checker, double checker, cord and herringbone decorations (see Figure 2.4). Excavations between 1999 and 2005 on a section of the Hill Complex exposed seven highly decorated terraces.

Cross Ruin

The Cross Ruin is roughly circular in plan with a diameter of about 24.5 metres and a height of about 6.1 metres above ground level. It is built on a

kopje that was covered with stone and soil and is bound by a retaining wall in Q style. Excavations have shown that this platform has three houses and is well drained by elaborate drains. Wood has also been used in construction at this platform and some of this wood was found intact in a recent excavation. It has a flat boulder at the top where a cross of cemented stone was said to be found and restored by Hall (1910). The evidence of the existence of this cross before Hall is slender however, as there is no written evidence of Portuguese missionaries visiting the capital of the Torwa state.

North Ruin

North Ruin has a free-standing wall that was filled to create a platform. The wall is decorated with checker pattern as well as a course of blue dolerite that contrast with the grey granite. Hall records in 1898 that there was a course of herringbone pattern above the checker (Hall, 1904) but this has since disappeared. The North Ruin was the target of antiquarians and gold seekers and was ransacked probably with the approval of the British South Africa Company (BSAC), a charter company that had a charter to colonise southern Africa for the British Empire (Robinson, 1959: 14).

Vlei Ruin

To the south of the Hill Complex is the Vlei Ruin, which overlooks a plain on which commoner housing and middens have been found. This platform has three house foundations. The platform is decorated with a chequer pattern on the western side which has Q style walling. The northern side is in R style and was thought to be an addition from a later settlement, but appears to be a repair made to the platform during occupation. Recent evidence at the Hill Complex has shown that these walls are original, as R style walling was constructed first and then covered by a layer of Q style walling. To the east of this platform is a branch of the Khami River, which stopped flowing after the dam was constructed. There are also free-standing walls in R style that may have been cattle pens close to this ruin. Artefacts found during Robinson's 1958 excavations in this area were insignificant, with the exception of a figurine of a man made from elephant ivory.

Passage Ruin

This circular platform is divided by a passage that led to the top of both these platforms. The maximum height of these platforms is just three metres above the natural ground. At the back of the platform are free-standing walls, one of which has the chequer pattern. The west-facing entrance to the passage also has a variegated pattern that alternates the blue/black dolerite with the grey of the granite blocks. Unlike the Hill Complex, the passage at this ruin was not roofed.

Monolith Ruin

This is a small, circular platform built around boulders, one of which stands out, hence the name 'monolith.' There is evidence of just one house platform. There are remains of a collapsed stone-walled enclosure to the south of the ruin that could have been stock pens.

Precipice Ruin

Situated on an island on the Khami River, the ruin is now surrounded by water on three sides since the building of the dam in 1928 (see Figure 2.5). It has a long retaining wall with breaches in three sections. These collapses were not caused by the building of the dam as they appear in archival photos taken in the 1890s, but have been worsened by having foundations underwater. These breaches have been a point of weakness as they have progressively collapsed. This retaining wall, at 60 metres in length, is the longest decorated wall of its type in the Zimbabwe Culture tradition. It is a six metre high, two-tier platform whose lower tier is now submerged by the waters of the Khami Dam.

Figure 2.5 Precipice Ruin with foundations under the water of the Khami Dam. Note pollutants in the water in the foreground

Source: A. Sinamai

The top-tier of the platform has a double chequer pattern. This ruin also has free-standing walls to the north which extend to a rock gong that shows signs of long-term use. The east and south of this island had no walling and was protected by steep cliffs. There is no evidence of occupation on this platform and oral traditions have referred to it as the sacred area of the site (Robinson, 1959).

In addition to these stone-walled areas of the city, numerous concentrations of housing and middens show the same material culture. These may have been houses of people of a more humble social status. A huge concentration of these houses can be seen to the north and east of the Hill Complex. These houses are of inferior quality to those found within the stone-built areas. Whereas the houses in the stone-built areas are *adobe* structures (solid earth structures), the commoner houses are of 'pole and *daga*' technique (timber framework plastered with clayey earth) (Sinamai, 2011).

3 Locating Khami

Culture, politics and global setting

Introduction

To understand the problems that Khami has faced over the years, there is a need to understand the cultural environment that has existed in Zimbabwe spatially and chronologically. Khami was a sacred place in the 1890s which by 1902 was protected by a decree. By 1937 it was a national monument managed by the state. In postcolonial Zimbabwe the site was inscribed on the World Heritage List. In this, its governance has shifted from communal to national and from traditional to colonial and postcolonial. Throughout this whole process, there have been contextual changes in terms of its social and natural environment caused by legislation and policies created by both colonial and postcolonial governments. The laws and policies influenced management and conservation of cultural heritage in Zimbabwe and played a part in creating the biography of Khami as a heritage place. This regulation of the landscape has influenced the perception of how people view cultural heritage, sacred landscapes and ancestral lands. They have changed population composition, power structures and use of cultural landscapes. The new cultural setting created by these changes played a huge role in the transformation of Khami from a revered landscape to a neglected tourist site.

The fall of the Torwa/Rozvi state at the hands of the Ndebele and the creation of the colonial and postcolonial states have all socially engineered the population living near the Khami World Heritage site. The Ndebele state created a new identity for people living within its borders, which included people of Shona/Kalanga ancestry. It was thus a linguistic and not an ethnic state since the majority of the population was not Ndebele in origin. This is also true today as Ndebele identity is challenged and contested by demands for the recognition of Kalanga, Nambya and Tonga as national languages. The colonial state covered a much wider area than the Ndebele state and created other identities through the establishment of a defined territory in which people of all ethnic groups could move in search of work, land and resources. This brought another group of people to central 'Matabeleland', especially from 'Mashonaland', and also saw others moving from Matabeleland to other parts of the country. Indeed, the Land Act moved

some Ndebele to Buhera in eastern Zimbabwe, where their identity became Shona. The colony created a sub-nation below the settler colonial power, composed of an African subaltern class. This sub-nation was the result of what has been termed dualism; a system of exclusion of the local population from economic and political systems created by most colonial states. Dualism emphasised the exploitation of local people and resources for the benefit of the local settler population and the mother nation (Cameron, 2009: 67). Of course, when explained as thus, dualism removes the rabid and extreme ideologies that legislated racism, especially in southern Africa. Amenities, housing and recreation areas were developed separately for the native populations and the new settler population. Dualism was not just economic and political exclusion but involves a cultural domination and exclusion, which in Zimbabwe also involved the manipulation of history to legitimise the colonial project. The burial of Cecil John Rhodes in and the removal of native populations from the Matobo Hills, the burial of pioneer Rhodesian heroes at Great Zimbabwe and later in the Matobo Cultural Landscape, and the ejection of the local people from cultural sites marks the manifestation of this cultural domination and exclusion.

In Zimbabwe, as in many African countries, this African substrata grew too large and demanded participation in the economic and political spheres of the state. It also resorted to claiming the cultural aspect that had been appropriated by the new colonial authorities. Sites were carefully selected to act as banners for nationalism and monumental Zimbabwe culture sites that were regarded as the epitome of indigenous cultures became a crucial element for political campaigns to gain full participation in the economy and politics of the nation. It is this sub-nation of the indigenous population that, through cultural nationalism created the postcolonial state. The postcolonial state again became 'multi-national' as different identities contest for cultural space after colonial domination. One result is that these countervailing ethnic identities became more pronounced lines of conflict among the major ethnic groups. All these conflicts created or emphasised identities further, to an extent that today a group calling itself Mthwakazi Liberation Front (MLF) has begun lobbying for an independent Matabeleland (Byo24.News, 2012). Each of these entities has either blurred or pronounced cultural differences and there are cultural elements that have either been dropped or adopted in the process. Some of these elements include cultural heritage that is important to certain groups of people. Khami is one of these forgotten heritage places which was dropped from mainstream narratives as a new identity was developing in Matabeleland since the settlement of the Ndebele in the 1830s. Legislation and national cultural policies are meant to iron out cultural differences and ease the tension that is present when culture meets 'otherness'. This chapter outlines how identities have developed in Zimbabwe over the years and how the shifts in cultural setting affects the management of heritage places like Khami.

We are one: the cultural framework

As already mentioned, Khami was the capital of the Torwa state but does not appear in Portuguese records even though most early Portuguese maps show the existence of the Torwa state (spelt 'Toroa' in Portuguese records). This capital was destroyed by fire in the 1640s during a civil war which had been influenced by a Portuguese warlord. Portuguese records mention a civil war in which the Torwa royalty was involved in a power struggle. Prior to this, the Portuguese seem to have sent an army under a local Portuguese settler, Sismundo Dias Bayao, but was defeated by the Torwa army based at Khami (Pikirayi, 2001: 203). Now weakened by the civil war, the Torwa state was invaded by the Rozvi Changamire (king) whose clan became the royal clan for a new Rozvi state. This marked the beginning of the erasure of Torwa history in the southern west of Zimbabwe as the Rozvi elites forced their identity on the local Torwa dynasties. Indeed oral traditions for many of the ruins in Matabeleland mention the Rozvi Mambos as the builders of these towns and cities (Pathisa Nyathi (oral historian), interview, April 2012). However, Changamire Dombo, the first Rozvi Mambo or king, invaded the south-west around the 1690s and took over the kingship of the Torwa, and managed to expand the state, expelling the Portuguese from the Zimbabwe plateau in the process. The change may have been less significant for the commoners as it was just a replacement of one royal dynasty by another of the same ethnic origins. Khami had already been built by the time that the Rozvi took over and these traditions show the Rozvi dynasty erased Torwa history and replaced it with their own in order to legitimise their rule. Even though the Rozvi may have constructed more stone-built towns after the Torwa in the south-west parts of Zimbabwe, it is archaeologically clear that the Rozvi dynasty did not build Khami. The Rozvi state was essentially composed of Kalanga and Karanga and movements by disgruntled royal dynasties to the north created new identities like the Nambya, who speak a dialect of Kalanga. Other Rozvi groups moved south to create Venda dynasties in South Africa. All these groups have similar histories and speak dialects of a common language (named Shona in the 1920s) and there are common oral traditions that link them together with the mainstream Shona of today. They have, however acquired new identities and sometimes, new names, making it difficult for them to be able to accept this common relationship between them. Thus, the present day Shona believe everyone in Matabeleland is Ndebele, and the Kalanga and Venda believe the Shona are usurpers of their history, are recent immigrants to the Zimbabwe plateau and are not related to them in any way (see Moyo, 2012).

By the time that the Ndebele (a Zulu-related group that had escaped from King Shaka's incessant wars usually referred to as the *Mfecane*, 'a troubled time') arrive in the 1830s, the myth that the Rozvi as builders of all stone-walled sites was widespread amongst their subjects who had forgotten the history of the Torwa state. This history may have been further magnified

by the fact that the Rozvi and the Torwa were culturally related and therefore had similar earlier history linking both dynasties to Great Zimbabwe. The Ndebele established a Zulu-like state in the western parts of Zimbabwe after defeating the Rozvi in the 1830s, destroying the capital at Danamombe and killing the Rozvi king at Manyanga. The Ndebele were a very small group of warriors who incorporated various other groups in South Africa and created a state through vigorous assimilation in which every young man was conscripted into the Ndebele army. The result was a military state that exacted tribute through raids into neighbouring groups, who included the eastern Karanga (now Shona) and the Tswanas in the west.

The Ndebele language and culture was enforced, resulting in further distancing of Kalanga/Karanga culture and heritage for those who had been assimilated into the Ndebele state. Through this assimilation, the Ndebele language became the basis of a common identity for all groups in the south-western part of Zimbabwe, including the Ndebele, Shona/Kalanga, Sotho/Tswana, Tonga, Nambya and Venda (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2008: 34). The Ndebele state could therefore be best described as multi-ethnic, with the core Ndebele group being just 20 per cent of the population of the new Ndebele state created in western Zimbabwe. Its military organisation, through the regiment system in which all young men were conscripted, meant that ethnic differences could be ironed out with the camaraderie that exists in all armies. Indeed, the Ndebele state also adopted the Kalanga/Karanga religion, which had a High God (Mwari) who could be approached through ancestors, especially royal ancestors. As the site of Khami was a royal residence which could be used for worship, it was protected and probably feared as a source of rebellions as well. A map prepared by the cartographer Edward Sanford, for Charter companies and traders, showed the area around Khami as the 'King's Preserve'. It is known that King Lobengula kept an impi (regiment) around the area and also held rain-making ceremonies near the site (Robinson, 1959: 2), which means that at one time the heritage place was of major importance to the Ndebele state and communities. This was, of course, a measure that also stopped the Rozvi from using the site in attempts to resuscitate their state.

Ndebele kings established their capitals a few kilometres south of Khami and later in the east in the present day City of Bulawayo. Mzilikazi, the first Ndebele king, built his capital at Mhlahlandlela, and his son King Lobengula established his capital first at Old Bulawayo (occupied from 1870–81) about fifteen kilometres south of the modern Bulawayo, and his second capital (again named Bulawayo) within the area now covered by the modern City of Bulawayo (Gaffney, Hughes & Gater, 2005: 31.) A state house was constructed in the area in 1894 on the ruins of King Lobengula's palace. It is here that the British defeated the Ndebele in 1893 and the fall of the once formidable Ndebele state occurred. Realizing that the king had been cheated by concession seekers who had made him sign a document that gave away land to the British South Africa Company (BSAC) led by Cecil

John Rhodes, the Ndebele rose against the loss of their land. This resulted in a war in which the king 'disappeared' and the Ndebele state became leaderless. From the time that Europeans arrived in Matabeleland in the 1860s, however, they had never seen the Khami Ruins as they were closely guarded by the Ndebele king's regiment. It was only after the defeat of the Ndebele in 1893 that Europeans could visit Khami.

The Ndebele were to rise again with the Shona in 1896. A defeat of the Ndebele led to a negotiated settlement between Ndebele chiefs and Rhodes himself. The Shona fought on for much longer, with some rebels fighting until about 1902 from the safety of Portuguese East Africa (Mozambique) where the colonial administration was still weak. The defeat of both groups marked the beginning of the seizure of land and cattle from the indigenous populations and the separation of populations from their sacred sites. The people living near Khami were removed as the area was declared a 'white area' and divided into farms by the new colonial government. The religious leadership was removed and resettled in remote places as they were suspected to have played a major part in the 1896 rebellion against colonial rule. By modern definitions of these groups, the 'Ndebele' are largely found today in Matabeleland North and South Provinces, as well as part of the Midlands Province, and the 'Shona' are found in the parts of the Midlands, the Mashonaland Provinces (East, Central and West), Manicaland and Masvingo.

By the time that the colonial state was formed and strengthened, Ndebele identity had been created among the true Ndebele, Kalanga, Venda and Nambya, though this identity was still to be strengthened by new colonial and postcolonial policies as will be shown in Chapter 5. The Kalanga, Nambya and Venda clans changed surnames and totems to suit this new identity. All these layers are part of the biography of Khami as it was a major cultural place for all these groups. Subsequent chapters will unravel this history in much more detail, through an analysis of the process of change in the human and natural environments brought by the different groups which have interacted with Khami since its abandonment.

The colonial period also marked the beginning of the plunder of archaeological sites and the first enactment of laws to protect and manage heritage places such as Khami. Along with other sites like Great Zimbabwe, Khami was under the management of the Southern Rhodesian government as far back as 1898 and was declared National Monument No. 3 in 1938 after Victoria Falls and Great Zimbabwe (Robinson, 1959: 3). Colonialism and settler power resulted in momentous adjustments in how cultural heritage was used and brought a new management system to Zimbabwe. During the rebellions of the 1890s, some sacred sites were centres of resistance to colonialism and there was a fear that any connection of these sites with the local populations would ignite other rebellions. The most serious change came through the appropriation of land from the African populations for the new settlers to use for agricultural or recreational purposes. Colonial

legislation that intended to protect heritage places was also a form of the cultural disempowerment of the Africans. Heritage places were given new names and meanings by these legislations. They became 'monuments', which were defined as 'physical entities' without a consideration of the connections of these heritage places and local populations. Sites were turned into recreational areas, giving European settlers access to places that were regarded as sacred by local populations.

The traditional custodians of the heritage places, who had deeper connections and respect for them due to the part they played in their everyday lives, were removed from the vicinity of these places. This was particularly poignant at sites like Great Zimbabwe, Khami, the Matobo Cultural Landscape and Manyanga (Sinamai, 2003). There were always contradictions in colonial Rhodesia: the same sites, which Africans could not deploy for purposes of asserting their identities, were used by the settler populations to legitimise the new colonial state.

The colonising society viewed African technological, cultural and political achievements as less significant than their own. Where sophistication was met, it was thus difficult to accept this as the work of 'primitive and indolent' Africans (Trigger, 1998: 131). Sites with a hint of technological advancement were attributed to a process of diffusion from the north, which referred to the influences of ancient Egypt and Near Eastern civilisations like the Phoenicians (Champion, 2001: 457). Places like Khami and Great Zimbabwe were a reflection that southern Africa had with Middle Eastern civilisations. Myths were developed around King Solomon's riches and how these riches had been extracted from mines in southern Africa (Garlake, 1973). These myths of King Solomon's city were largely influenced by the English adventure writer Sir H. Rider Haggard's book *King Solomon's Mines*, in which the protagonist Allan Quatermain, searching for his lost brother in southern Africa, comes across a city and mines full of treasures, including gold and diamond belonging to the Biblical King Solomon. Quatermain and his companions collect a few of the treasures, enough to make them rich on their return to England (Haggard, 1901).

When Queen Victoria gave Cecil John Rhodes a Royal Charter to annex the land between the Zambezi and the Limpopo he used these myths to attract adventurers, entrepreneurs and soldiers who all hoped to get rich quickly by joining his 'Pioneer Column' which played a major part in the colonisation of 'Mashonaland' and 'Matabeleland'. For Rhodes, what had been found in the north was a long lost Phoenician civilisation of European folklore and he became obsessed with Great Zimbabwe, as shown by the use of symbols from Great Zimbabwe for his Groot Schuur house in Cape Town (Kuklick, 1991). European colonisation was thus portrayed not as a violent occupation but as reclamation of a long lost civilisation (Bull-Christiansen, 2004). Indeed, when Rhodesia's first heroes (a group of 32 over-zealous BSAC soldiers were killed while trying to capture King Lobengula in 1893), their remains were first interred in a crypt made especially for them at Great

Zimbabwe. A memorial was to be made and mounted on a larger scale on one of the colossal boulders overlooking the ruins (Ranger, 1999: 30). Later the remains were moved to the Matobo Hills (at Malindadzimu, another sacred place – the name means ancestral burials) after the burial of Rhodes there in 1904. Rhodes himself is said to have considered the idea of being buried at Great Zimbabwe before being awed by the beauty of the Matobo landscape where he was later buried (Ranger, 1999: 30).

The Rhodesian governments adopted symbols from Great Zimbabwe and consistently used them to represent the state from 1923 up until 1979. This was in no way an acceptance of ancient Shona heritage but a way of relating to ancestral heritage from a civilisation that was later replaced by hordes of uncivilised Africans. To remove illegitimacy of the settlers there was a celebration of nature and cultures associated with the indigenes, while at the same time denying them of that same nature and culture.

The 1950s saw the rise of nationalism in Zimbabwe and heritage was widely used to feed into nationalistic narratives. Nationalists, scared of the potential balkanisation of the colonial state due to ethno-cultural nationalism, focused on territorial nationalism (Tamarkin, 2007: 362). Territorial nationalism was supported by cultural heritage in creating pan-African narratives that influenced liberation struggles in southern Africa. Many who wanted to prove that Africans were civilised before being colonised pointed to heritage places in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Mali and Ghana, among others. Both Ndebele and Shona political parties used Zimbabwe Culture sites to raise national consciousness and create an identity beyond ethnic boundaries. However, Khami was not used as the nationalists in the Matabeleland region preferred sacred sites in the Matobo Hills and Manyanga (the last Zimbabwe culture site occupied by Rozvi kings), and which were still used by both Ndebele and Shona groups. Another site of major focus nationally was, of course, Great Zimbabwe, which was projected as the most prominent achievement of black people of the then Rhodesia (Garlake, 1982; Kuklick, 1991; Sinamai, 1998). Political parties that were formed during this period include the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) and the Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF). To gain legitimacy, these parties evoked the 'authority of the ancestors' by creating new rituals at sites related to the Zimbabwe civilisation (Lan, 1985). With the parties playing ethnic politics, the perception that ZAPU was Ndebele and ZANU-PF was a Shona political party developed, even though they were both, in fact, multi-ethnic. ZANU-PF and ZAPU later merged into one party (ZANU-PF) but the perception that it is a Shona political party has remained entrenched in Matabeleland.

The consequence of this association of heritage and nationalism is that Zimbabwe Culture sites (especially Great Zimbabwe) are celebrated as symbols of Zimbabwean (mainly Shona) achievements. The name '*Zimbabwe*' came from Great Zimbabwe and the symbols that are used to represent both the colonial and postcolonial state came from this site.

As a result, it has always been better preserved than all the other heritage places in Zimbabwe. Khami, however, was problematic for the colonial government, which portrayed Great Zimbabwe as an isolated phenomenon built by outsiders. The presence of Khami and other similar heritage places proved that Great Zimbabwe was a local achievement and that the technology used at the site was common. As a result, Khami was ignored in terms of research, conservation and management during the colonial period. For archaeologists, research questions about Khami could be answered with research at Great Zimbabwe and so the focus was on understanding Great Zimbabwe first. The City of Bulawayo markets itself as the 'City of Kings' based on the presence of three capitals (Khami, Mhlahlandlela for King Mzilikazi, Old and New Bulawayo for King Lobengula), but this is purely for tourism rather than cultural purposes. Many of the problems faced by Khami have been caused by the negligence of the City of Bulawayo.

Modern political dynamics have created a shift in what is regarded as cultural heritage in Matabeleland. With the Shona making up 78 per cent of the population and the Ndebele only about 15 per cent, the latter fear being overwhelmed by the Shona culture. In the celebratory language of a newly independent state, Shona culture, as represented by Great Zimbabwe loomed large. The name of the country was changed in 1980, without much consultation or protest, from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe after the site of Great Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe had to be reconstituted as an African state connected to an ancient African entity (Fisher, 2010: 79) and with this, the national narrative was permanently linked to the heritage of the Zimbabwe Culture period. The presence of Shona heritage places in Matabeleland shows a long existence of the Shona related groups on the Zimbabwe plateau, a fact that is used to explain their current dominance.

Politicians who stand to gain from ethnic conflicts have pointed to how representations of heritage have used only Shona heritage (Lindgren, 2002). National symbols such as the coat-of-arms and flag have a Zimbabwe bird (a soapstone sculpture of a bird found at Great Zimbabwe, see Figure 3.1). The national sport teams (soccer, rugby, cricket) use these symbol on their uniforms. This dominance of what is regarded as Shona material culture has led minorities in Zimbabwe to complain of a covert and overt ethnic chauvinism in the way that the nation is portrayed, as the past that is presented as national is almost always a Shona past. Indeed, it seems the current government policy sees the Shona as having greater legitimacy as indigenes, having settled and built monumental cities on the Zimbabwean plateau for longer periods than any other group with exception of the Tonga and the San (the so-called Bushmen). To counter this, some opposition politicians from Matabeleland have gone as far as calling the national flag 'a ZANU-PF flag' because of the soapstone bird on the flag, and point to this as an example of 'Shona triumphalism' (Lindgren, 2002: 46–47; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008). The ZANU-PF is always associated with the Shona even though now it is an amalgamation of this party and the ZAPU. Khami, being

Figure 3.1 One of the Zimbabwe Birds used as a national symbol
Source: E. Matenga

related to Great Zimbabwe, is by association, a Shona site and it does not evoke strong emotions for people from Matabeleland and hence the lack of regional pressure to preserve it. Evidence, however, shows that the site was historically important to the majority of people who identify themselves as Ndebele today.

In the early 1980s, problems arose between the two former liberation organisations, the ZANU-PF and the ZAPU, leading to some ZAPU combatants deserting the army and waging a rebellion against the government. The government response was to send a regiment that was largely Shona in composition, leading to the death of between 11,000 and 15,000

Ndebele villagers, depending on the sources used. Because ZANU-PF had a majority of Shona and ZAPU Ndebele, these disturbances are defined as a civil war between the Shona and the Ndebele, even though both parties had people from both ethnic groups. For example, the Minister of Home Affairs and Defence at that time, who oversaw the army's efforts against the 'dissidents', was a Ndebele. There has never been an effort by the government to acknowledge responsibility for this massacre and it has also tried to suppress independent investigations, and this has created a festering anger and loathing for Shona culture among some Ndebele (Fisher, 2010: 51).

Though this conflict was driven by the government with no support from the general (Shona) population, it has widened the Shona-Ndebele fault-lines and has led to a form of ethno-centrism that seeks to highlight differences through cultural heritage. The unification of the two political parties that were seen to represent these two groups came in the late 1980s and this marked a change in heritage management, as it had to cater for the new inclusive policies that were meant to celebrate diversity.

In terms of heritage management, this meant identifying important Ndebele heritage sites that could be added to the national list and contribute to the national narrative. It also meant suppressing other heritages in Matabeleland in order to create an atmosphere in which Ndebele Culture could flourish without the domineering presence of the Shona culture. Several sites were earmarked for development into tourist centres to show the inclusion of the Ndebele into the national mainstream. These included sites in the Matobo Hills like King Mzilikazi's Grave, as well as Old Bulawayo, King Lobengula's capital between 1870 and 1881 (Gaffney, Hughes & Gater, 2004). Throughout all these changes, Ndebele identity was negotiated and reconstituted. In the early years of settlement, the remnants of the Ndebele from Zululand were regarded as pure Ndebele. This was to change as the Ndebele assimilated various ethnic groups in Matabeleland, who included the Tonga, Sotho, as well as Shona related groups like the Nambya, Kalanga and Venda. This Ndebele identity was also strengthened by the colonial experience with its boundaries for the provinces based on languages and dialects. Ndebele was taught in all schools in Matabeleland and by the 1920s, many communities that had spoken a variant of Shona identified themselves as Ndebele. With the ethnic conflict of the late 1980s, the Ndebele identity seems to have been extended to all who suffered from state sponsored violence, including people in Shona districts of the Midlands like Mberengwa, Shurugwi and Gokwe (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2008).

In the late 1980s, NMMZ came up with a master plan for the development of heritage sites. This plan had to take into account the new political dispensation and be inclusive of all groups. Among the sites to be developed were Great Zimbabwe and Khami, as well Old Bulawayo (Collett, 1991). The master plan included developing these sites into tourism centres so that NMMZ could be autonomous from government funding. Though this was presented as an integration 'of heritage into the national development' plan

(Collett, 1991: 5), it was also a recognition that the politics of the time could be used in the preservation of sites. As NMMZ recognised that with the euphoria of the unity accord signed by the ZANU-PF party and ZAPU, heritage would be required to play a part in the creation of the new inclusive national narrative. For the accord to be credible some heritage places had to be put in the national limelight and contribute to national narratives. The government also had show commitment to economically developing Matabeleland, which was said to be lagging behind all the other provinces due to the conflict. Old Bulawayo was thus identified as a good target for this focused development. It was regarded as a site that emphasized Ndebele identity and commemorative events were still being carried out at this site by the Ndebele royal family. It was thus a good candidate for development as a heritage place to highlight Ndebele culture. The site was excavated and reconstructed using funds mobilized from donors as well as the government's Public Sector Investment Programme. Khami, on the other hand, did not become the focus of attention even though it was one of the two World Heritage Sites in Matabeleland, along with Victoria Falls. The cut-and-paste inclusion of minority heritage has not been successful in bringing this heritage into the national narratives. It affords the Ndebele a national heritage but does not extend it to the whole nation in the same way that Great Zimbabwe is presented.

Though there have been a few political changes, with the inclusion of the opposition parties in government, the current government (which has been in power for the last 35 years) still harbours a strong belief that there should be one national narrative for all citizens to mould national character and has been slow in recognising diversity (Ranger, 2004). With active opposition parties, the challenge has not only been faced in the political sphere but also in the cultural sphere. There has been a development of heritage authoritarianism where a hegemonic state feels it has a monopoly over heritage and history and needs to 'take the nation back to school'. This authoritarianism, which has been recently dubbed 'patriotic history', is marked by a lack of free discourse and rational debate on the history of Zimbabwe, and has divided the nation into 'revolutionaries' and 'sell outs / traitors' (Ranger, 2004: 223). As the following monologue highlights, every aspect of Zimbabwean history, from the construction of Great Zimbabwe to the struggles against colonialism and postcolonial land reforms, form part of the an unending struggle to create a single homogeneous nation:

> The essence of our nationhood is our people as they struggle with and even against each other to establish a common order and vision bigger polities able to take beyond small and narrow social circumstances. We know many wars and conflicts that were fought for this land, indeed for this land: between tribes, within Kingdoms; between chieftains, within chieftaincies as our people evolved and moved inexorably towards, even enlarging formations, which would later yield this big country we call

> Zimbabwe today. We think of the Great Zimbabwe Monument and many others scattered throughout the country as indicative of those great struggles that bore the civilisation which at once, precede, but also lead to our present circumstances. It indeed, has been a long road.
>
> (Mugabe, 2001: 135)

In this common narrative, the building of the Zimbabwe Culture sites is permanently linked with the liberation struggles (First and Second *Chimurenga*) and both are achievements of a resilient people, who, for centuries have had only one aim: the creation of a united, successful nation. The problems of this narrative have been discussed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2011) and Ranger (2004) who both view the phenomenon as an example of the dominance of cultural nationalism in Zimbabwean historiography and politics. The issue of how cultural nationalism has affected the selection, promotion and conservation of heritage needs to be discussed by heritage managers in Zimbabwe and not just by political commentators and historians. Cultural nationalism is reflected through the constant reference to achievements of the selected monumental past and is always inevitably linked to the struggle for independence, determining what is preserved as the national estate.

Legal and policy framework and the creation of a national heritage

How cultural heritage has been identified, selected and protected over the years determines how people view heritage today. The semantics used in heritage management today arises from the legislation which views cultural places as monuments and sites, and artefacts as relics. 'Monument' is usually used to describe a structure created to commemorate some event in a people's history or architectural remains regarded as an example of outstanding building techniques. From as early as 1902, the word 'monument' has been used in Zimbabwe to describe cultural heritage places regardless of whether it is a site of commemoration or ancient architectural remains. Both natural and cultural places are described in this same way and this has meant that a four square metre colonial 'monument' like Cecil John Rhodes's grave has the same status as a 500 hectare cultural landscape like Khami. The fact that both can be referred to as 'monuments' has led to the belief that only the 'monumental' part of a heritage place is important.

Though the political and cultural setting has changed in Zimbabwe, the country still uses legislation crafted during the colonial period. The result is a disconnect between policy and practice. The NMMZ Act (1999) was developed out of the BSAC ordinances and legislations (Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance, 1902 and the National Museum Act, 1902). These were developed into the 1934 Historical Monuments Act and National Museums Act, which morphed into the 1972 National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia Act and amended in 1980 as the NMMZ Act.

Subsequent amendments (e.g., in 1999) have not changed the tenets of the colonial legislation. It still contains the out-dated wording and descriptions of heritage and artefacts that first appeared in the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance of 1902.

The passing of the colony of Rhodesia does not mean the passing of the colonial experience (Fisher, 2010: xi; Stoler, 2008). The colonial experience is perpetuated by remnant policies and legislations (the debris) which influence how postcolonial heritage is selected, managed and celebrated. Colonial legislations dealing with such mundane issues like heritage have remained untouched and continue to be used in the management of heritage places in Zimbabwe today. Postcolonial heritage managers have continued to use these colonial heritage legislations in the same way: as tools for governance. The result is that, whereas in Europe where local people still have some control over their heritage, in Africa, very few can claim to own heritage places, as heritage legislations do not allow individual or communal ownership of heritage places. The continued use of these legislations in the postcolony has created a culture within heritage management circles where local people need to be controlled around heritage and cannot play a part in the identification, documentation and preservation of heritage places. These same archaic legislations have also been used to shape other new policies like the National Cultural Policy that Zimbabwe developed in 2004.

The first heritage legislation in Zimbabwe was the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance which was enacted in 1898, but only came into effect in 1902. It was one of the first heritage laws in southern Africa and the first to create a list of sites that were to be protected. It intended to protect a single heritage type from treasure hunters. With the presence of monumental sites of the Zimbabwe Culture and the myths of gold mines (largely triggered by H. Rider Haggard's book, *King Solomon's Mines*) many professional treasure hunters, antiquarians and the general public believed that there were gold artefacts buried at sites like Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Danamombe, Zinjanja (renamed Regina after Queen Victoria), Naletale and 320 others scattered on the Zimbabwean plateau. There were many reports of looting at these sites by treasure hunters and members of the public in the late 1890s and early 1900s; Danamombe and Zinjanja were dug up for gold and other valuables. Indeed two American adventurers, Burnham and Ingram, found 607 ounces of gold at Danamombe (Matenga, 1998). In another case, a 'Greek farmer' in the north western part of Zimbabwe dug the ruins of Mutowa for gold (Davison, 1967: 130). These reports prompted the BSAC to enact a law that would protect their investments in the form of precious artefacts that could be found at these archaeological sites.

The list created by the Ordinance was meant to protect sites which the BSAC believed could be exploited for gold artefacts and, because of the charter given to them by Queen Victoria, belonged to the company. It was also in 1902 that the Museum Act establishing the National History Museum (NHM) in Bulawayo was enacted. This act established museums

around the country that were meant to be depositories of not only artefacts that would be recovered from the monuments scattered around the country but establish the geological history of the country as well. The NHM was thus initially a geology museum established by the Chamber of Mines but expanded into other natural history fields as it grew. This again shows that the initial aim of all these antiquities legislation was always aimed at the exploitation of minerals in Zimbabwe.

The BSAC, which governed the new colony of Southern Rhodesia, had little concern about the damage to the site but was concerned about the gold artefacts being found. As a private company with shareholders, the BSAC protected the sites as resources rather than heritage and even gave permission to the Ancient Ruins Company to go around some of the sites in search of gold and gold artefacts. The BSAC got 20 per cent of all the gold found at these ruins, while 80 per cent went to the treasure hunters, but the BSAC had the first option to buy them (Ndoro, 2005: 157). This company first carried out work at Danamombe in 1896, but its operation was disturbed by the First *Chimurenga* (the first war against colonialism) and its sorting machine was destroyed by Ndebele warriors (*The Mercury*, Monday, 5 July 1897: 4). Thus, from the beginning, the listing of these heritage sites was primarily to aid the extraction of minerals that were purported to be hidden there or from the mines that were supposed to be nearby. Another effort to protect heritage places was through another selective act, the Bushman Relics Act of 1912. This act was a response to the etching out of rock art panels, which were used to decorate houses, and to the trafficking of the so-called 'Bushmen relics' (human remains, stone tools, rock art and engravings, ethnographic artefacts), which had become quite common with the new settler communities of southern Africa (Legassick & Rassool, 2000).

Within 30 years of the colony's establishment, Rhodesians of European heritage began to exhibit a pride in their pioneer heritage (Fisher, 2010: 2), especially those sites that played a part in directly putting down rebellions of the indigenous populations. Demands were made by the very influential 'pioneer families' (who created historical societies) to commemorate the events that led to the creation of Rhodesia, but there was no organisation to do this. This led to the enactment of more synthesized heritage legislation (Fisher, 2010). The 1936 Historic Monuments and Relics Act redefined heritage by including all archaeological sites, pioneer monuments, as well certain historical buildings in the major urban centres. It also created an organisation that ranked heritage places for preservation, use and management. Heritage places were ranked in two categories: monument and national monument. A monument was a place that had some local historic and scientific significance but was not outstanding nationally. A national monument was an outstanding heritage place with historical and scientific significance and also with a potential for tourism development and recreation. Some of the heritage places, of course, had political significance to the new settler government. All sites on the monuments list were,

however, protected by the Act from all forms of disturbances including unsanctioned excavations and development. Though the Act was passed in 1936, the organisation created by it, the Commission for the Preservation of Natural and Historical Monuments and Relics (popularly referred to as Historical Monuments Commission, HMC), only became active in 1948. Before this Act, some sites were being run under the National Parks and Wildlife Act, such as Great Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls. Great Zimbabwe was only handed over to NMMZ in 1972 and the Victoria Falls continues to cause serious disputes between the two semi-autonomous organisations (Makuvaza, 2010).

By 1954, the commission had declared 79 sites as national monuments and the Archaeological Survey had 3,000 recorded sites (HMC Annual Report, 1955). Most of the sites on the list were recorded by archaeologists within the National Museums. Between its formation in 1936 and its demise in 1972, the HMC employed only one archaeologist with much of the work being done by the National Museum's archaeologists based at the NHM in Bulawayo and the Queen Victoria Museum, Harare. The listing procedure for national monuments included the identification of sites by experts (usually archaeologists). Their recommendations were considered by a board which, if it decided that the site was worthy of registration as a national monument, made its own recommendations to the Minister of Internal (now Home) Affairs. This procedure has hardly changed today.

The year of 1972 saw the amalgamation of the National Museum and Historical Monuments Commission to create the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia. The present law is an amalgamation of the Museum Act (enacted 1902, amended 1934) and the Historical Monuments Act (1934). This was done to rationalise the operations of the two organisations in the face of declining revenues for the Rhodesian government due to international sanctions after the Unilateral Declaration of Independence from the United Kingdom in 1965. It also devolved powers to the regions in that it created museological regions, each with its own local board that not only made policies for the region, but also assessed which sites could be nominated for national monument status. Five regions were created: Eastern (Manicaland Province), based at the then Umtali (now Mutare) Museum; Western (the two Matabeleland Provinces), based at the NHM; Southern Region at Great Zimbabwe; Central Region at the then Gwelo (Gweru) Military Museum; the Northern Region based at one of the flagship museums, the Queen Victoria Museum (Zimbabwe Museum of Human Sciences) in Salisbury (Harare) and combining what is now three Mashonaland provinces.

Khami is in the Western Region and therefore is administered from the NHM. The NHM, with the largest natural history collection in Africa, has seven natural history departments (mammalogy, palaeontology, entomology, ichthyology, herpetology, ornithology and arachnology) and an Archaeology Department. Between 2002 and 2004 I headed the Archaeology,

a department – which was viewed as a nuisance and an outsider by the museum administration and other departments – tolerated only for its contribution of revenue from tourists visiting heritage places.

Each of the regions is headed by a director who reports to a regional board. They report on a day-to-day basis to the executive director of NMMZ who is appointed by the national board. The boards for these museums were composed of prominent local people (usually this meant a member of the pioneer settler families) and councillors of the city in which the flagship museum (or monument) was based. These would then compose the National Museums and Monuments Board at a national level with the executive director of National Museums and Monuments as an ex-officio member. All decisions to nominate are decided by this board, which recommends the declaration of a site to responsible minister of government.

Usually the minister simply endorses the board's decision. Decisions to nominate a site are thus driven by the regional boards following the advice of the heritage managers in the region. These regional boards have little administrative power and depend on the advice of the regional museum office. Regional boards hardly consult communities on heritage issues and depend entirely on the 'experts' in the region to provide policy. Though most heritage sites are outside urban areas, most board members are retired civil servants, academics, town councillors and businesspersons who have no connection to rural populations that have direct connections to the sites and use the landscapes. All board members have been people living in cities (see listed board members in Annual Reports from 1980–2015). They, therefore, do not articulate the cultural needs of the population that have cultural affiliation to the heritage places in NMMZ board meetings.

Khami, under the management of the NHM in Bulawayo, is not a priority for this museum. This museum has some of the world's largest collections of birds, reptiles and amphibians, insects, fish and paleontological life forms. Its focus is therefore very much at odds with archaeology and heritage management, which is seen as a forced addition to a natural museum. The majority of staff at the museum are from the natural sciences and have lobbied for less budget allocations for archaeology.

Nomination of sites to national monument status is determined first and foremost by legislation (currently the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act 1999), which defines what heritage is. Cultural heritage is referred to as an 'ancient monument' in the Act and this is defined as

> any building, ruin, or structure or remaining portion of a building, ruin, or structure … or a statue, grave, rock shelter, midden, shell mound, or other thing of similar kind which is known or believed to have been erected, constructed, or used in Zimbabwe before the 1st of January 1890.
>
> (NMMZ Act, 1999, Section 1, Article 2b.)

The Act also outlines the responsibilities of NMMZ, which includes museums administration, research, conservation, as well as compiling and keeping 'a register of all national monuments' (NMMZ Act, 1999, Section 2, Article 4b).

Following Zimbabwe's independence, the Archaeological Survey had over 5000 monuments, of which 138 were national monuments. The legislation had superficial changes after 1980, most notably the change of name from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe. The structures created by the Act still exist today. By 2008, Zimbabwe had about 18,000 sites, mostly archaeological sites, battlefields, war graves and memorials, historical buildings, liberation struggle sites, as well as 'natural sites' like the Victoria Falls. The list shows the selective mediation and of the different governments that have been in power in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe. The biggest anomaly however, was the colonial sites, which made up 78 per cent of the listed national monuments.

Looking at the history of modern Zimbabwe, one can see at least four different periods of realignment in cultural politics. The first period is the Charter Years (1893–1923) when Southern Rhodesia was ruled through a charter given to the BSAC by Queen Victoria. The country was meant to generate profit for the company and the British government. Monuments were maintained not only because of concern for heritage, but for the economic revenues that could come from them. The second period began when Southern Rhodesia attained self-government in 1923 after threats of being governed as a province by South Africa. This period saw an attempt to be different, to be a country with its own character. The 'pioneer spirit' of white Rhodesians, as well as the ancient history of the country, were used to celebrate a new past. Many pioneer sites (graves, memorials, battlegrounds and homesteads) were identified and listed together with other archaeological sites that had already been identified. Zimbabwe culture sites including Khami were celebrated as heritage of a long lost Aryan civilisation, a process that naturalised the relationship of the new settlers with the territory that they found themselves in (Fisher, 2010: 69).

Forming the third period, Rhodesia declared a 'Unilateral Declaration of Independence' (UDI) from the United Kingdom in 1965 and became more hegemonic and repressive. During this period, efforts were made to control the citizens (see White, 1997) through a mediated history. The emergence of a white republic in place of the British colony was marked with a spatial re-inscription of white history on an African landscape with celebration of the pioneer spirit of Rhodesian ancestors. The republic also appropriated the African landscape, complete with cultural remains, as it sought to deny its African citizens that same heritage. The Rhodesian government censored guide books for sites like Great Zimbabwe and Khami making sure they were not mentioning Africans as having built the ancient cities in that landscape (Garlake, 1982). More pioneer sites were listed as monuments during this period than before to commemorate successful battles against the native

population. This period reflected a cultural nationalism that was to be experienced again after Zimbabwe became an independent African republic.

The fourth period (from 1980) is marked by the emergence of the postcolony in which the indigenes 'reclaim of history'. This later developed into a hegemonic claim to history similar to that seen in the UDI years in recent times. The period of 'reclamation' saw some colonial sites removed from the national monuments list. Various statues of Cecil John Rhodes and a statue called *Physical Energy* (a horse with a victorious rider[1]) which had been national monuments, were removed from the Harare and Bulawayo city centres and deposited in the backyard of the National Archives and NHM respectively. In Zimbabwe, most of these colonial sites have remained national monuments, even through periods of extreme nationalist sentiment. Though the statues of Cecil John Rhodes and Alfred Beit were removed from main streets in Harare and Bulawayo in the early 1980s, the rest of the monuments have remained on the national monuments list. They have, however, lost their prominence and are hardly celebrated or protected as the postcolonial narrative links the modern state to the ancient states, in an attempt to refuse to be the progeny of a white Rhodesia (Fisher, 2010: 58). The declaration of new heritage places also occurred, many of which were liberation heritage sites (Fisher, 2010).

This, of course, is not unique to Zimbabwe: the postcolonial experience in countries with painful colonial pasts shows that colonial heritage sites have either been delisted or downgraded (Coombes, 2005; Muringaniza, 2004). South Africa downgraded most colonial monuments to provincial heritage sites and created new national heritage places that were meant to fit the reshaped national narrative of the 'Rainbow Nation'. Namibia, on the other hand, has moved the *Reiterdenkmal*, a major German monument to the Deutsche Schutztruppen, a force that played a huge part in the Herero Genocide (the precursor of the Jewish Holocaust) from 1904 to 1908, in which 75 per cent of the Herero population were hunted and starved to death in concentration camps (Sarkin-Hughes, 2009). The *Reiterdenkmal* was moved to a less prominent place and a Liberation War Museum built in the place it occupied.

For official management purposes, the heritage places on the national monument list have been divided into three classes. Class one is composed of sites that have significant visitorship and usually have a site museum and custodians. These sites are accessible through all-weather roads and have interpretative information in the form of guidebooks, pamphlets, exhibitions and published scientific papers and books. These include the World Heritage Sites under NMMZ as well as cultural heritage sites within World Heritage Landscapes not owned by NMMZ. The Matobo Cultural Landscape, for instance, is a landscape owned by District Councils, the NPWLA and private individuals, but has thousands of rock art, sacred places and colonial heritage sites (such as Rhodes's grave) managed under the NMMZ Act. Thirty-six sites fall under this class and examples include

Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Matobo rock art sites and historical sites, as well as the Ziwa Ancient Agricultural Terraces that are currently on Zimbabwe's World Heritage Tentative List.

Class two are sites that are not frequently visited and are accessible only with four-wheel drive vehicles. They usually have very few specialist visitors and may not have museums and custodians. Most of these would be national monuments that require quarterly condition assessments. There are 28 of these on the list of class two monuments (Chipunza, 2005: 44). Class three are sites that are not public and are usually in commercial farming areas. They lack large visitor numbers and are usually visited only by specialists. These sites have no amenities and do not have custodians. They may also be a monument that is facing threats from development or the environment. There are 78 sites in class three (Chipunza, 2005: 44). Most of these national monuments are Zimbabwe Culture sites and rock art; in fact, the most prominent monuments in all the five regions are Zimbabwe Culture sites. Each of the five museological museums has a display of the Zimbabwe Culture, and these are meant to provide a collective experience for shaping a national identity. The museums therefore are 'authorised public spaces' to interpret and disburse the chosen narrative (Dyson, 2004: 104).

Though not recognised by the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act, there is a higher ranking for some national monuments: the World Heritage Status. Unlike the South African heritage legislation, the Zimbabwean law does not explicitly recognise World Heritage status. To make sure that World Heritage sites are looked after equally, South Africa enacted the World Heritage Convention Act 49 (1999), which established a legal framework for identification, management and conservation of World Heritage sites and made the World Heritage Convention more legally binding (Kotz & Van Rensburg, 2003.) This has, in a way, established equity in the distribution of human and financial resources to World Heritage sites. It has also ensured that significant heritage places cannot be used to threaten another culture or for political gain (Kotze & Van Rensburg, 2003: 9). In Zimbabwe, however, the World Heritage Convention is not legally binding and resources are not equally distributed to World Heritage sites and hence sites like Khami, which are important World Heritage sites, have deteriorated even after their inscription on the list.

Monumentality, an important feature of these two sites, always presents the nation as heroic, grand and powerful (Labadi, 2007: 161) and provides an attractive 'national signature' (Stritch, 2006: 45). This may have been the major reason why Khami was also selected for nomination as a World Heritage site. No one examined the values attributed to the site by communities and other stakeholders to these heritage places and the World Heritage Committee did not, at the time, require this in its nomination process. For the new government of Zimbabwe, nominating Khami and Great Zimbabwe was a process of fitting into a universal framework where you present high culture. After years of isolation due

to sanctions on the Rhodesian government, the process of nominating World Heritage sites became a bridge linking the new nation to the rest of the world.

National cultural policy and heritage

Zimbabwe adopted a cultural policy in 2004 after years of complaints about the absence of a policy to guide various cultural organisations in the management, development and marketing of culture. The early 2000s were marked by radical change culturally, politically and economically. Accompanying the drive to repossess land was a cultural revival of sorts in which local languages, music and culture were promoted. All these issues were captured in the cultural policy that came out in 2004. The preamble to the policy clearly states what it is supposed to do:

> Some of our traditions, values, and beliefs seem to be disappearing owing to various factors, which include colonialism, urbanisation, globalisation, and acculturation. The need to promote and preserve our cultural heritage has become more important in the face of above factors. Concerted efforts have to be put in place to preserve this cultural heritage for posterity and to maintain it as a unique part of the world's cultural heritage.
>
> (Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture. (MESC, 2004: 1)

Despite its aim is to reclaim heritage, preserve it 'in pristine condition' and promote it to the world, this was not reflected when Khami was inscribed on the World Monuments Watch's 100 Most Endangered Monuments in 1999 and continued to be underfunded. The policy deals with wide ranging issues which languages, religion, customs, dress, movable and immovable cultural heritage, knowledge systems, food, theatre, dance, music, visual and literary arts, among others. It lists NMMZ, the National Gallery of Zimbabwe (NGZ), the National Arts Council of Zimbabwe(NACZ), the National Archives of Zimbabwe (NAZ), the National Library and Documentation Centre (NLDC) as the key institutions in the preservation of culture and fostering cultural development, and indicates that these institutions are not only supposed to create wealth for the nation, but have a role in 'building the country's image' (MESC, 2004: 2).

The policy's purpose was also to harmonise the cultural sector and serve as a tool to preserve and promote culture in the face of 'colonialism, urbanisation, globalisation and acculturation' (MESC, 2004: 5). It was also meant to be a document that the cultural sector would use to make government understand the importance of culture and cultural heritage and lobby for funding. Though the policy recognises the diversity of the Zimbabwean society, it still aims to 'promote the evolution of a dynamic national culture.' In other words, it still follows the state's policy of creating a single

homogeneous society from the diverse ethnic groups in Zimbabwe, a statement that most fear means promotion of Shona Culture.

Instead of the policy feeding into legislation and policies on language, cultural heritage, art and music, it is itself derived from existing legislations in these fields. Most of these existing legislations, especially the NMMZ Act, do not specify the role of the citizen in the identification of heritage and do not respect citizens' rights to own or manage their own heritage. As with existing cultural legislations, this policy is developed for a state that knows what its citizens require. The policy oversees a cultural sector with laws that are inconsistent and incompatible with each other. For instance, it identifies traditional chiefs as custodians of cultural heritage but the NMMZ Act propounds that all heritage places are owned by the state on behalf of the citizens. The NMMZ Act does not recognise the power of traditional chiefs as the Traditional Leadership Act cannot override laws that govern state institutions. The departments listed in the Cultural Policy also compete amongst themselves and with other government entities, with NMMZ and the National Parks constantly in conflict over the management of cultural heritage and landscapes. The rivalry over the management of cultural landscapes like Matobo, Victoria Falls and Chinhoyi Caves have resulted in legal action by NMMZ over the ownership of 'national monuments' that have been under the management of National Parks (Makuvaza, 2010).

The National Cultural Policy is developed from decisions already made by government at different levels and at different times. The result is a lack of coherence, as the fields covered by the cultural policy are found under different ministries and departments which themselves are competing cultural producers. The laws that control them have been enacted at different times of the nation's existence, with the National Museums and Monuments Act (Cap 25: 11) being an amendment of a much older colonial Rhodesian law (a law that appropriates all heritage places and allocates ownership from communities to a national institution, such as NMMZ). The different levels of government include: the Ministry of Education and Culture, which ran the National Galleries of Zimbabwe, the NACZ, National Library and Documentation Centre under the Department of Culture; the Ministry of Home Affairs was responsible for NMMZ; the Ministry of Justice, Legal and Parliamentary Affairs, responsible for the Traditional Chiefs Council and Ministry of Environment through NPWLA, controls cultural landscapes while the Tourism department markets landscapes and culture to the rest of the world. There are power structures that exist among these ministries and departments, depending on how they are funded. The policy was developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, a ministry that could hardly enforce changes in ministries like the Home Affairs (for NMMZ) or Environment and Tourism (for NPWLA). Recently the Traditional Chiefs' Council, NMMZ, the Department of Culture and the National Archives were lumped into one ministry and named the Ministry of Rural Development,

Preservation and Promotion of Culture and Heritage. With the little funding available ending up in rural development, culture and heritage are still in the same position as they have been since 1980. This has since been reversed and NMMZ is back in the newly formed Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage.

With the competition that exists between the Ministry of Home Affairs and Cultural Heritage and other established ministries as the Ministry of Tourism, it is difficult to envisage an occasion in which one of them lobbies for cultural heritage sites to receive more funding. The policy synthesizes various cultural documents, legislation and policies without creating any consensus and thus simply papers over the sectoral divisions and the ethnic cracks. When NMMZ took over the administration of heritage places in the Matobo Cultural Landscape, the NPWLA stopped promoting the heritage sites to their visitors. This sectoral division is also reflected in the development of the national environmental management legislation in Zimbabwe. The Environmental Management Act (20/27 of 2004), developed mainly by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism, hardly mentions cultural heritage as part of the environment. Most Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) exclude cultural heritage and usually this aspect of assessment is carried out by unqualified personnel just to fulfil the requirements of the law. Therefore, NMMZ had to develop its own guidelines for developers, as the Environmental Management Authority (EMA) regulations were not explicit enough on cultural heritage (NMMZ, 1999).

The composition of the EMA board is specific on who should be appointed and this does not include experts from the cultural heritage sector. It specifically mentions experts in environmental planning, environmental economics, pollution, ecology, waste management, soil science, hazardous substance, water and sanitation (Government of Zimbabwe, EMA 20/27, 2002: Section 12) and this has lead developers to believe that there is no need to include cultural heritage in EIA. The EMA itself has fined the City of Bulawayo US$5000 for polluting the Khami River, but does not mention the Khami Ruins as part of the environment anywhere as its focus was just the water in the dam. The EMA is thus largely unaware of its role in protecting cultural heritage as part of the environment. The city on the other hand is neither concerned with the environmental problems that it causes by polluting the river nor the damage to the heritage place it claims in its promotion as the City of Kings:

> If they issue a fine, it would affect us because that money could have been used to rectify other problems. We work under a system of prioritising and there are other problems that take precedence over the sewer problem. We work on a priority list and the sewer problem is not at the top of the list.
>
> (Thabani Moyo, Mayor of Bulawayo, *Newsday* Newspaper, 9 April 2012)

The pollution problems that the Khami River and World Heritage site have experienced are not on the priority list of the City of Bulawayo. The city council does not even recognise the potential of Khami, a World Heritage site, as a tourist attraction that could improve the city's fortunes. The culture that it acquired between 1920 and 1999 as a bustling industrial centre still persist: Bulawayo can not see opportunities anywhere else except in industries. The city fails to realise that alongside industries, other sectors like tourism can also contribute to its development. Bulawayo does not have a department responsible for the natural and cultural environment within its environs. Most environmental issues are tackled by the Public Health Department; a department that focuses on pollution and how it can affect the health of the people in the city. The tourist sites are promoted by a volunteer association (Bulawayo Publicity Association) that is composed largely of private sector players whose focus is not preservation of heritage places. The Publicity Association also has no influence and no input into the city's economic and development plans.

In 2011, a Heritage Council was formed to coordinate organisations managing cultural heritage and consisted of the NACZ (music, drama, film, writing, dance), NMMZ (heritage sites and museums), National Parks (places of aesthetic and cultural significance and cultural landscapes) and the National Gallery of Zimbabwe (NGZ) (art and sculpture), and National Archives (archives, oral traditions) was created under the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. The lack of coordination had already been observed when a list of the ten most important heritage places in Zimbabwe excluded the Matobo Cultural Landscape and Khami, both of which are World Heritage properties in Matabeleland (Nyathi, interview, April 2012). This of course not only shows the marginalisation of the region, but how less important the Khami World Heritage site is at a national level.

Conclusion

The concept of heritage in Zimbabwe has been shaped by its pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial history. Heritage creation has been a preserve of the state for over a century as no other organisation besides the quasi-state organisation, NMMZ, can declare a National Monument. It also owns all monuments with the exception of historical buildings. Heritage and tourism policies therefore emanate from the government bodies. The result has been a lack of participation in the selection and preservation by stakeholders.

The domination of the Karanga/Kalanga (Shona) on the Zimbabwe plateau for several centuries, the arrival of the Ndebele in the 1830s and the colonial experience have all left markers which are carefully selected and made to represent the state. The protection of a site has depended on whether it is useful to the ideologies used to create and maintain a nation. First, Khami was a Kalanga/Karanga capital under the Torwa dynasty who were overthrown by the Rozvi who subsequently created a new history to

suit their ideology of rule. This history is further muddled by the arrival of the Ndebele, who assimilated the former subjects of both the Torwa and Rozvi dynasties into their strict rule. The Ndebele were in turn replaced by the colonial government, which further pronounced new identities in both 'Mashonaland' and 'Matabeleland'. The postcolonial state, with its own tensions, creates and reinforces these identities and further alienates certain groups of people from their ancestral heritage.

Throughout Zimbabwe's colonial and postcolonial history, heritage has been a fundamental object in the legitimation of rule. In colonial Rhodesia, Great Zimbabwe was focused on as if no other similar sites existed in order to create a narrative that saw Zimbabwe civilisation as unique, and therefore a result of outside influence. Khami's major drawback is its less prominent role in the theology of the Zimbabwean nationhood. Whereas Great Zimbabwe fed into African nationalism as a national sacred site, Khami was ignored as a narrative resource by the nationalists, many of whom resided in Bulawayo, just 22 kilometres away. The colonial experience left complex issues in land tenure, land rights, cultural rights, social conflict and identity. It changed or pronounced identities which had not existed previously and also left social conflicts linked to land tenure and cultural rights. In postcolonial Zimbabwe, the foreshortening of memory, which links Great Zimbabwe to current issues including land distribution, creates an image of a state in continuous struggle from the twelfth century to the present. The postcolonial state sees heritage as a therapy for all the social ills (ethnic divisions, disunity and culture change) left by the colonial experience or brought about by globalisation.

Whereas the majority of national monuments were pioneer settler sites during the colonial period, sites of the liberation struggle tend to dominate in terms of new nominations in postcolonial Zimbabwe, especially after 2000. A new type of site called 'Heroes Acres' (a cemetery for a few selected heroes of the liberation struggle) has been added to the definition of 'national monument' and does not need to be located within the borders of Zimbabwe. Burial places of massacred Zimbabwean liberation combatants and refugee populations in Mozambique, for example, have been classified as 'national monuments' and receive better funding than sites like Khami which are World Heritage sites. One of them, the Chimoio Memorial, built by the Zimbabwean government in Mozambique, has a copy of the Conical Tower similar to that found at Great Zimbabwe and lists all the people that perished in the bombing of a refugee camp and training centre by the Rhodesian Airforce.

Cultural heritage in Zimbabwe is thus beyond the control of a simple cultural policy. Heritage in Zimbabwe has been inherently political and contested to an extent where both the colonial and postcolonial governments have tried to control the interpretation of heritage places to suit political ends. The postcolonial Zimbabwean cultural sector also suffers from a power struggle that pits departments and ministries against each other and

a state that stresses a single narrative and fails to recognise the multiplicity of the voices that feed culture and create cultural heritage. If the aim of managing heritage is to improve society through making different groups appreciate each other, then multiple interpretations have to be the norm in site interpretation and cultural ambitions of the 'other' have to be recognised (Holtorf, 2009: 51).

Tourism in Zimbabwe, though touted to be an important industry by the government, is not coordinated. The ministry that creates tourism policy has a narrow view of toursim products and focusses instead on National Parks and the hotel industry and hence cultural heritage places receive less tourists. Tourism is based on the 'Big Five', a concept that celebrates the large beasts in Zimbabwe's National Parks (lion, elephant, rhino, leopard and buffalo). Cultural heritage tourism is less promoted by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. The Tourism Policy is thus mainly used to promote what is defined as 'natural heritage'. Sites like Great Zimbabwe are sometimes promoted by the state because of the position that they are accorded in the national narrative and the large numbers of visitors who visit it. In contrast, Khami is not promoted by the state, the City of Bulawayo and NMMZ, nor does not receive a large number of visitors. It is this indifference that marks the un-inheriting of Khami by the state, as well as the region in which it is found.

Note

1 The original *Physical Energy* statue was erected in 1959 at Kew Gardens as a dedication to Cecil John Rhodes. A copy was then made as a present to the City of Lusaka in 1960. After independence the new government ordered its removal and made a formal offer of the statue to Southern Rhodesia. It was moved to Salisbury where it stood until its removal in 1980 when Zimbabwe became independent. Its association with racism was established by the Federation of Rhodesian and Nyasaland's Prime Minister's remark that the relationship between white settlers and black Africans was 'the same as what exists between the rider and horse.' Apparently Zambians now regret sending it to Zimbabwe.

4 Nationalising the past, internationalising the present

Theorising nation, heritage and identities in Zimbabwe

There are various definitions of cultural heritage, many of which have been criticised as inadequate in some quarters. Heritage Studies is a multidisciplinary field pursued by anthropologists, geographers, archaeologists, historians, as well as social theorists, political scientists and architects. There are no agreed definitions and as Harvey (2001: 319) states, there are as many definitions of heritage as there are heritage practitioners: archaeologists and historians work closely with heritage sites; geographers observe the cartography of landscapes and their use by populations; political scientists examine the influence of heritage on issues of identity; and anthropologists and social scientists look at how culture is woven into the past. Some historians on the other hand have seen heritage as a threat to history, a simulacrum of the past that combines education and entertainment outside the discipline of academia (Lowenthal, 1985: 341). To architects and developers, it is just a hindrance that increases the cost of 'development'. There are also questions about how we define heritage and why there is a disconnect between expert and community definitions of heritage. A number of researchers have defined heritage as a modern product shaped from a chosen past (Harvey, 2001; Edson, 2004).

For these researchers heritage is not the sites and artefacts but the result of a cultural process in which one may find that what may be heritage today can be forgotten tomorrow. Heritage practice has intimidated historians and archaeologists in the way that it sometimes inflates meanings beyond the physical remains and does not respect timelines and sources that history and archaeology respect (Edson, 2004: 338). Where history requires concrete evidence, heritage depends on ever-changing narratives. In short, heritage significance is dependent not on empirical research but on the emotional power of heritage narratives and attachment to sensorial landscape. If this is the case, archaeologists' focus on the monumentality of heritage places like Khami is misplaced.

What most heritage practitioners agree on is the fact that heritage has always been revered in different ways by different societies, including the

societies that were regarded as 'primitive'. It is not only identification, management and conservation that create interest in heritage but the need to share a sympathetic connection with the cultural past and its theatre (the environment), and building a single collective memory that threads a group or nation together. All societies have had some sort of relationship with their past even when they do not actually refer to that past as 'heritage'. Most have or had protective and management systems to preserve those 'heritage places', much like we have today. Much of what we value today as heritage is a result of institutional interventions and rationalisations meant to create societies with national commonalities and pride (Harvey, 2001: 320). Heritage thus, can not only be a colonial and postcolonial experience, but carries with it ancestral perceptions of that same past. This ancestral and colonial debris also influences the postcolonial experience of heritage.

Heritage is sometimes described as a tangible and vivid instrument for regulating and controlling human behaviour and both traditional and modern societies evoke it when in their need for control (Labadi, 2007: 153). It provides communities with ontological security (Grenville, 2007) and is, therefore, an object of power. One of the fundamental questions that social and political scientists, geographers and archaeologists have brought to heritage studies is the question of how 'things' become heritage (Pearce, 1998: 86). Some scholars have linked the growth of heritage to the economic commodification by capitalism (Lowenthal, 1998a), but this does not explain why societies with no economic gains still have attachment to the same heritage or why some sites deemed to have values that are significant are not revered and protected. There is clearly a fundamental link to the question of identity and power and the apparent need of groups around the world and in all ages to feel a connection with others around them as well as with their physical environment. But there are forgotten places like Khami which archaeologists, with their value systems, have made prominent even when these places play very little or no roles in the present.

This book debates these issues in a Zimbabwean context using the Khami World Heritage Site as a case study. Clearly, in Zimbabwe heritage looms large: it is projected on a daily basis on television and political speeches and other media. This attachment to heritage is largely a result of the cultural wars between the European settler community and the indigenous African populations, mostly based on Great Zimbabwe. As part of the process of establishing Rhodesia as a white homeland, the settlers denied the indigenous population of their heritage through interpretations that said Zimbabwe Culture sites were of foreign origin. Liberation in Zimbabwe was, therefore, always seen as decolonisation, with a sub-project of mental disengagement from the colonial cultural policies, and reclamation of the indigenous cultural heritage.

In this disengagement, colonialism is regarded as an affliction that affected the culture, norms and morals from which people can recover by understanding their past. It also entailed the dismantling of settler

cartography that had been inscribed on the African landscape with colonial names and identities (Fisher, 2010: 61). Not only had indigenous heritage been usurped, the geo-political landscape had been changed by new colonial names. With decolonisation, colonial names were replaced, in some cases returning to the older names that had been removed or misspelt by colonial administrators (Fisher, 2010). The major towns and cities were given new names suggested by a newly formed Cabinet Committee on Place Names. In the case of Fort Victoria (a small town in the then southern province of Victoria), the name was replaced by Masvingo (meaning ruined ancient dwellings), after Great Zimbabwe, which is just 22 kilometres away. Masvingo is the oldest colonial settlement in Zimbabwe and with its proximity to and relationship with Great Zimbabwe, the city tags itself as the 'ancient city' of Zimbabwe, a play on the ancientness of the heritage place and being the oldest colonial town. This was a deliberate attempt to recover an earlier African history and identity to legitimise the new dispensation represented by the postcolonial state. On the other hand, Khami has hardly featured in the re-mapping of the landscape, with the only prominent feature named after it being a notorious prison, which has come to symbolise the repression of both the colonial and postcolonial governments. In fact, in Matabeleland, the first thing that comes to mind when the name Khami is mentioned is a notorious prison not the heritage place.

The use of the Zimbabwe Culture as a parameter for which the modern Zimbabwe state can measure itself is, therefore, a deliberate undertaking for the recovery of culture and cultural heritage. On an average day, Great Zimbabwe, the iconic representative of the Zimbabwe Culture, appears at the beginning and end of every news bulletin on television and is also used for various social, political and economic programmes on television (Sinamai, 2003). The heritage places are evidence for the independence and unity that Zimbabwean people experienced before the colonisation of the country. The character and image of the modern Zimbabwe is thus based on these past achievements. But these links between the past and the present are not always translated into the preservation of these places and neither are they accepted by every Zimbabwean. Except for Great Zimbabwe, none of the other Zimbabwe sites on the National Monuments list (including Khami, the only other Zimbabwe Culture site on the World Heritage List) receives adequate funding. What is more surprising however, is the absence of Khami in the local collective memories and national narrative of Zimbabwe.

A Khami Development Fund was created in 1986 but its coffers remained empty as the site further deteriorated. Its preservation has depended on donor funding while Great Zimbabwe is fully funded by the government. In Zimbabwe, being on the national or World Heritage List of monuments does not guarantee protection and preservation. Cultural heritage is only important in the creation and maintenance of the national narrative that brings a primordial collective identity (Hutchinson, 2000: 652–56). Khami's preservation is a knee-jerk reaction triggered by criticism from newspapers,

the public or a hint from the World Heritage Committee, or when a problem arises at the site.

The kinds of debates about heritage being backward-looking, elitist, vulgar, fearful and escapist which exist in heritage circles in Western Europe (the so-called mature nations) and elsewhere (Lumley, 2004), do not seem to occur in much of Africa, even when most sites are associated with royal and religious elites. This debate was particularly popular in the 1980s and early 1990s and was largely informed by Marxist theories of the 1960s that saw the 'heritage industry' as elitist and conservative (Witcomb, 2003: 3). In Zimbabwe it can be argued that cultural heritage at the state level is interpreted for the urban population only. This is not surprising: a large percentage of the white population for which the museums were established and heritage places interpreted, lived in the urban areas. This means that like elsewhere, heritage is elitist. But in young and emerging nations like Zimbabwe, it is rare for questions to be asked about what is being celebrated as heritage. Interrogating heritage is unpatriotic and is equal to questioning the right of the nation to exist. With this lack of national debate on what national heritage is, communities ignore the state's narrative and create counter-narratives that celebrate local heritage. These counter-narratives (myth, legends, folklore) carry images of the local experience and evoke a local past that is disconnected from that which is celebrated by the nation-state. The heritage phenomenon in Zimbabwe is, therefore, not one but various, depending on cultural and social experiences as well as the political climate of the time.

Conceptualisation and nurturing of the political state is accompanied by use of cultural heritage to project the nation-state into the past through the creation of a 'national heritage' (Lowenthal, 1998b; Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2004). This projection, which is a part of nation building, selectively usurps the regional identities and utilise them to enhance national identity. The nation therefore remembers and conveniently forgets what is not useful to it. The process of creating a nation is portrayed as glorious, but in reality, it can be quite oppressive, harsh and chauvinistic (Karakasidou, 1993: 4). In the words of Walzer (1967: 166), 'the state is invisible; it must be personified before it is seen, symbolised before it can be loved, imagined before it is conceived.' After a colonial experience, cultural heritage is the source of new names for the landscape (personified) and icons from archaeological sites are used as symbols of the nation (symbolised), and is also present in the re-imaging and imagining of the new nation. Throughout this process, forgetting is the other side of the remembered story.

Zimbabwe is, of course, a typical example of this: the name is from an archaeological site whose symbols are part of the coat-of-arms and flag, and the nation is imagined to extend to territories covered by the pre-colonial Zimbabwe Culture. The Zimbabwe Culture becomes the 'national signature' in which the nation can express its 'unique individuality and personality' (Stritch, 2006: 45). This 'national signature' is pivotal in how the

nation markets itself, both politically, as a worthy member of a competing nationalist world and economically, as a viable and interesting destination. Monuments thus become simply illustrations in a nationalist text, meant to bring goodwill from other nations and infuse a sense of nationhood to a domestic audience as well (Stritch, 2006). But a lot is conveniently forgotten in creating this 'nationalist signature' and Khami is but one of the examples of this unusable heritage. Its presence is physical and is not accompanied by commemoration, that crucial element of remembering.

After a long colonial period in which history was sometimes denied, heritage places become focal points for a rediscovery of lost dignity (Parsons, 2006). This focus, which Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986) called 'decolonising the mind', complements and completes the mental freedom brought by political independence by engaging with the past through cultural heritage, literature, media, as well as the arts (Marschall, 2008: 347). In Zimbabwe this 'decolonisation of the mind' has also been accompanied by a foreshortening of memory, with the current nation-state being seen as a natural continuation of the ancient Karanga/Kalanga states that existed on the Zimbabwe plateau before colonisation (Sinamai, 2003). History is thus not always linear; forgetting creates a mishmash of histories and myths of the state which archaeology often mirrors in what is researched and interpreted for the citizen.

In southern Africa where several countries such as South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia experienced violent transitions from racially divided colonies to universally elected government, this imagining and re-imaging has both local and international connotations. Heritage becomes a raw material for fulfilling the political projects like national identity, territorial integrity as well as being the neutraliser of tension between different competing ethnic identities. From the state's perspective heritage is a tool for homogenising the nation composed of diverse groups of people (Logan, Langfield & Nic Craith, 2010). Nations, especially in their early years of existence, tend to require a common history to create an entity with a common goal and destiny. In Zimbabwe, it is not uncommon to hear the term the 'Mhuri ye Zimbabwe' (The Zimbabwean Family), referencing the myth that all citizens of Zimbabwe have a common heritage. The name 'Zimbabwe' in this instance represents a glorious past that is shared by all Zimbabweans regardless of origin.

Heritage is also used to project the new nation onto the international stage through its declaration as universal heritage, as well as its marketing as a tourism attraction. It is the mirror in which the new nation can see itself and an emissary of choice to the wider world. The nation thus makes an effort to be represented by 'authentic' symbols and makes an effort to suppress the symbols of old colonial nation, which may remind the world of an inglorious period of subjugation (Hall, 2004: 22; Stritch, 2006: 50). Heritage, however, is also a double-edged sword when accompanied by chauvinistic, aggressive monologues (Blake, 2000: 84) and can fuel disinterest and even be used to stir conflicts. In other words, heritage is not always inherently positive; by its nature it is exclusive and potentially oppressive. In

Zimbabwe, minority groups have expressed repugnance of the stifling use of the Zimbabwe Culture at the expense of other sites belonging to minorities. Thus, heritage cannot be examined from a point of abstract values but from that of the human condition, as it affects people's human and cultural rights (Silverman & Ruggles, 2007: 3).

Cultural rights include the right to a cultural identity as well as being able to select, maintain and enjoy one's heritage, which is guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Stavenhagen, 1998: 14). Cultural heritage, therefore, has to be discussed, managed and protected with constant reference to how every decision could impact on the cultural rights, human security and freedoms of people. The current state of affairs in Zimbabwe, where the concept of heritage is un-negotiated, alienates that heritage from communities that revered those same heritage places and affects how heritage is managed and conserved. As Lowenthal (1998b: 227) argues, 'too much is asked of heritage' and occasionally, it is used for very incompatible aims. Group identity and national identity are two poles of a magnet: group identity aims at excluding others while national identity aims at removing differences brought by group identities to create citizens. Majority groups may also feel that their importance is being over-diluted through the over-promotion of minority rights (Logan, 2012: 41). The issue of cultural rights in Matabeleland, a province occupied by the Ndebele and associated minorities, and where Khami is located, presents a unique problem in terms of heritage in Zimbabwe, but this problem has not triggered any debates at national level. Not only do the Ndebele complain that their identity is suppressed in the heritage sector, but the Kalanga groups and the Zambezi Valley Tongas also view Ndebele identity as hegemonic.

Heritage viewed as thus, reinforces and subverts power (Graham, Ashworth & Tunbridge, 2004: 37). In Zimbabwe, the Zimbabwe Culture sites were used to subvert colonial power by nationalists. On the other hand, the colonial government used the same heritage to reinforce its own power by claiming the heritage places were a result of a long-lost Western civilisation (Garlake, 1982; Sinamai, 2003; Mahachi & Ndoro, 1997). During these nationalist struggles all indigenous groups (Shona, Ndebele and other minorities) used the name 'Zimbabwe' to refer to the then Rhodesia but, once again, the same name that was not an issue in the nationalist struggle has come to be seen as Shona, representing Shona culture and excluding other narratives from the nation's history. The postcolonial state thus continued with this representation that had emerged from a nationalist political environment but did not recognise that these representations change with time and circumstances (Kiriama, 2010). Cultural heritage can be used subversively by minorities just as much as it can be used to define opposition in ethnic terms (Blake, 2000: 76).

In the semi-democratic but centralist state that emerged after the independence of Zimbabwe, heritage was a tool for engendering a homogenous national state rather than for celebrating the diversity of the nation. After the

brutal suppression of Ndebele nationalism in Zimbabwe during the 1980s, national symbols began to be questioned in light of new and developing identities. The ethnic conflicts from the 1980s which led to the death and disappearance of thousands of people have also sharpened the Ndebele identity, which is accompanied by a resentment for 'Shona heritage' and a nostalgic attachment to the heritage of the settlement of the Ndebele on the Zimbabwe plateau. The 'Ndebele Question' thus ceases to be just a political and human rights question and becomes an issue of cultural rights, identity and heritage. Therefore, heritage has been linked to the struggle for cultural rights as well as human rights for the Ndebele and, as in other parts of the world, it has become an activist cause (Logan, Langfield & Nic Craith, 2010). These issues have contributed to how the Khami World Heritage Site has been viewed by local communities, as well as how it has been managed and conserved after independence in 1980.

Heritage requires uniformity and the creation of psychological borders against others, hence, groups do not normally represent themselves with the heritage of the other. Although the Ndebele equally used Zimbabwe Culture sites to show the roots of the nation during the struggle, they now question the representation of the state through the Zimbabwe Culture sites. Ethnic secessionists like the recently formed 'Mthwakazi Liberation Front' have pointed to images of the Zimbabwe Bird on the flag and coat-of-arms as a deliberate deployment of Shona culture in a much wider Shona project to dominate all other groups.

These issues influence the people working on the ground regarding what to preserve and what to ignore. Archaeologists, architects and other heritage practitioners structure their questions around what the state has already identified as important, especially those sites that the state has promoted to World Heritage status. In return, they receive funding from the state and other private donors (Silberman, 1995; Trigger, 1998). In Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe has for years received disproportionate funding from the government as well as donor organisations. At independence, the Restoration Programme for Great Zimbabwe fund (RPGZ) was created to specifically cater for the preservation of the site. In return for this funding, archaeologists researched, presented and interpreted the tourism attractions at Great Zimbabwe in a way that also validated the national narratives (Mufuka, 1986; Ordermatt, 1996: 96). Khami, on the other hand, has failed to attract researchers and developers, resulting in low patronage by tourists. The research agenda of the colonial government, which focused only on Great Zimbabwe so as to present it as an isolated phenomenon from outside, still exists 30 years after independence, albeit for a different reason.

Culture, heritage and national memory in Zimbabwe

The word 'heritage' is an old word that has become a catch phrase that constantly acquires new meanings. From Old French *eritier* (to inherit) and

ultimately from Latin *heredium* (a unit of land, *heriditas* –inheritance), its etymology shows that it referred to personal inheritance (Online Etymology Dictionary). With the development of the nation-state, this concept was extended to groups that shared some experiences, events and places in the same territory. In Zimbabwe, its Shona equivalent, *nhaka*, also refers to what one personally inherits from an ancestor but can be used to describe what a society receives from a previous generation. The recent and general widespread use of the terms 'heritage' and 'cultural heritage' is due to the activities undertaken by UNESCO after 1972, with the introduction of the World Heritage Convention and the formation of the World Heritage Committee, and in 1992 its secretariat, the World Heritage Centre. Earlier definitions of heritage mainly coming from Europe had concentrated on 'sites' and 'monuments' and also preferred the less controversial values of those heritage places. Up to the 1980s, architectural remains were viewed mainly as masterpieces, which meant that the aesthetic value of the heritage place was more important than other values. The structure and design of physical remains were regarded as the most important aspects of a heritage place. This concept of heritage as we know it today was exported to much of the colonised world through colonial legislations, but was always a source of contestations with indigenous groups (Ndoro, 2005).

The use of the word 'monuments' appears to increase in popularity in relation to ruined environments in the mid-twentieth century. It emphasised the celebration and commemoration of the past mostly related to the nationalism that ended in several wars in Europe. By the 1950s, however, international organisations were referring to 'cultural property', stressing possession and ownership. The word heritage became popular in the 1960s and was more concerned with the process of inheriting. By the end of the twentieth century, the scope of heritage included tangible and intangible heritage and was often set within a cultural landscape (Vecco, 2010: 322). Even with this agreement, the terms used for built environment heritage are still different in different countries. While UNESCO and ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) still use 'monuments and sites' most countries in Africa still refer to 'monument' or 'site', while much of Asia including Australia uses 'heritage place'. However, whenever these words are used they denote a collective inheritance for a people, a region or a country.

Zimbabwe was isolated by UN sanctions from 1965 to 1980 and developments in heritage management only filtered into the heritage institutions after independence when Zimbabwe ratified the World Heritage Convention. In Zimbabwe, the terms used have not changed even though the heritage typologies have been broadened. Heritage sites are still referred to as 'national monuments', whether it is a small scatter of pottery or an ancient city. These terms hardly describe the sites from the perspectives of most communities in Zimbabwe. For communities, these terms have a distancing effect as they seem to separate heritage places from the landscapes

and people connected to them. With such approaches to heritage management, the heritage sector in Zimbabwe is still stuck with ancient semantics of heritage management. The same can also be said for most African countries: Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Namibia and Sudan still use either 'antiquities' or 'national monument'.

The word 'monument' sanitises heritage places and is usually used to show clearly the ownership of a place by a government body. In Zimbabwe, its use signifies stringent rules as well as restricted access. For local communities the word 'monument' has meant fences and denial of access, as well as desecration of sacred places through tourism. A case that can show this clearly is the refusal by local communities in the Matobo District in southwestern Zimbabwe to allow the nomination of Njelele (a sacred site within the Matobo World Heritage Landscape) as a 'national monument'. For them, nomination meant change of ownership of the sacred site from the community at large to NMMZ, with the consequence that the use of the site by local communities would be restricted while at the same time open to tourism (Makuvaza, 2008).

Recently, other terms like cultural landscape, intangible heritage and cultural property have been thrown into the fray, making definitions of cultural heritage even more vague and elusive. The broadening of the concept of heritage has also meant an increase in what can be regarded as heritage. The range of heritage places today includes archaeological sites (like Machu Picchu) to recent places like the Paris road underpass where Princess Diana died in an accident, which, though not listed officially, has become a place of popular significance and visitation (Timothy, 2011: 467).

However, to understand the term cultural heritage, it may be necessary to understand the constituents of the terms, that is, culture and heritage (Blake, 2000: 67). There are some obvious difficulties in coming up with an exact definition of culture. The vagueness of the definitions proffered by researchers on what culture is, percolate to definitions of cultural heritage as well. One very early definition of culture was by Taylor (in 1871, see Boellstorff, 2006: 30). He defined culture as 'knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.' Taylor was one of the first to admit that culture was universal and not limited to a few 'civilised' groups, as most of his predecessors had theorised. However, he saw education as an important aspect of building culture and thus 'primitive cultures' were considered to be not as developed as western cultures (Taylor, 1871). One of the definitions that seem to attempt to give an all-inclusive analysis of culture comes from Kroeber and Kluckhorn (1963: 357):

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit or implicit, and of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artefacts;

> the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values.

This definition brings the roles of 'symbols' and 'artefacts' in the shaping of culture. It also brings out the role of culture in informing the behaviour of humans. From these definitions, culture is a common heritage that includes ideas, values, sentiments, traditions and the physical manifestation of these. It arises out of a shared experience and is therefore central to people's identity. These definitions make it clear that culture is not inherited genetically but is something that is learnt through one's interaction with a wider society and the environment. One inherits culture and shapes it to suit the various needs of the individual and the society that he or she is living in. The culture that we say is ours today is therefore a result of past negotiations with the physical and cultural environment in which we live. Thus, culture evolves and changes over time to suit different demands from both the natural and cultural environment, as well as in response to other competing cultures and ideologies. The colonial experience has always been a good example of this. Both the colonised and the coloniser had to make strategic shifts in their culture to allow for co-existence with other groups as well as in new 'natural' environments created by colonisation. In this process, the physical components of culture also change in meaning to suit the new cultural environment created by subjugation or domination. This may entail creating new heritages and discarding the old. Many colonial settler populations have incorporated the local cultures into their own in a struggle to fit into new cultural and natural environments.

Heritage, in dictionary terms, has been simply defined as 'that which we inherit.' This of course is a convenient definition, one that avoids looking at the process of inheriting. Not everything is inherited, as some of the things are lost or are undesirable and out-of-date, but still survive on. A better (but still inadequate) definition has been provided by the National Heritage Conference, UK of 1983: 'heritage is that which a past generation has preserved and handed on to the present and which a significant group of the population wishes to hand on to the future' (Harrison, 2004: 5). In contrast, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996: 20) define heritage as a 'contemporary product shaped from history', indicating that heritage is the result of a process in the present rather than a 'thing' which comes down from the past into the present.

Most of these definitions are, however, very simplistic and do not take into account the use and contestations that heritage finds itself in, nor do they reflect the increasing fluidity in a fast-changing world. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) definition of heritage seems to point to economic and cultural commodification, but there is always an intrinsic relationship between communities, groups and nation and the past that cannot be adequately described through a discourse that focuses on commodification. Heritage is also usually interrelated with religion, ritual and ceremony and cannot

therefore be separated from these. Like beauty and art, the definition will always be vague and interpretations varied (Lumley, 2004). Logically, from these definitions heritage can only survive when it has 'consumers', be they tourists, citizens whose identity depends on it, religious leaders and their followers that use it.

Cultural heritage denotes the means by which a culture is transmitted from one generation to another and it is what informs the behaviour of the current society. Cultural heritage, like a gene, carries information that will shape the behaviour of the society that claims it at some point in time. That information may be in the form of selected tangible and intangible heritage from different pasts. Heritage is therefore a major cultural tool and a 'narrative resource' or an archive, which is consulted in building a narrative of the collective memory of the nation from time immemorial. This building and re-building may not respect chronology and evidence, tenets so valued by academics.

However, in building collective memory it is also essential that some things are forgotten through contestation of identity, loss of narratives of place and pressures of the market place (Wertsch, 2007: 648; Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004). What is presented as prime national heritage is, therefore, selected for its importance to an identity, and for the potential that it has to generate funds through tourism. Selection is determined by that element's capacity or potential to contribute to the understanding or appreciation of the human story, or in perpetuating traditions that have spiritual and emotional connections to our past. The process of selection is easier when the society that selects from the past is homogeneous. With the diversity found in nations of the modern world, selection of national heritage is an emotive and contested process. Among the Ndebele of western Zimbabwe, heritage is a powerful force that can be used to ward off the Shona influence and social dominance. There are multiple layers of history and identities in Matabeleland and how these layers are remembered depends on their power to challenge this hegemonic, modern Shona narrative. Khami as 'Shona' heritage fails to play that part and hence is forgotten in Matabeleland. Its presence on the World Heritage List can only be attributed to the quality of its tangible heritage and not appreciation by the region of Matabeleland. The stonewalls, which display a unique understanding of dry stone architecture and the engineering skills of the builders, is what supported the site's nomination on both the National Monument and the World Heritage List. This is the same reason why Great Zimbabwe was nominated, but because that site has been 'inherited', local contestations have meant that NMMZ is forced to consider the ephemeral part of heritage as equally important (Munjeri, 2008: 134).

Heritage is the interpretation of our world and gives meaning to who we are, where we are and why we are in certain contexts and conditions. It is the window through which society can view and differentiate itself from others, as well as making that society visible to others as well (Assmann, 1988: 133).

Therefore, heritage is not only monumentality but includes what we think and the stories we tell about it. The stories and the names we ascribe to that heritage point to the important features within the landscape and also records our feelings about that heritage place. Preservation, therefore, is not just conservation of this monumentality but includes the memorialisation of the invisible elements that give ontological security to communities. It is this which has preserved landscapes and heritage places even after they have been destroyed or reconstructed. It is also the reason why the destruction of such heritage places like the Mostar Bridge in Croatia or Palmyra in Syria is regarded as 'killing memory' by the community (Riedlmayer, 1995). It is for this reason that we need to understand how voluntary or enforced heritage amnesia creates forgotten places.

Once we understand this, heritage becomes a present-focused phenomenon that has multiple meanings and interpretations. When heritage discourses refer to 'heritage management' they refer to the way archaeologists identify, document, manage and conserve sites today as if all other people who have lived before us have not 'managed' that heritage. Management of heritage is not limited to physical preservation; it involves the preservation and manipulation of information about how heritage is used in the transmission of culture in a way that suits the current needs of the inheriting societies. Because of this, heritage management should include how people and communities converse with places. As a vehicle for transmitting cultural memory, a heritage place's monumentality is just one aspect of a cultural landscape. Official versions of history may require that monumentality to influence the next generation of 'inheritors', but communities have different perceptions of those heritage places. Heritage places and landscapes provide an environment in which communities can map their presence in a landscape and also provide an ontologically secure environment in which to live and survive. This is why the destruction of cultural heritage, which involves a physical erasure, has such an emotional effect on people. When Palmyra (Syria) was destroyed by ISIS in 2015 many heritage practitioners focused on the loss of the monumental remains while locals focused on feelings and considered it a 'torture' of the spirit. Cheikhmous Ali, a Syrian archaeologist, described the destruction as 'a way to pressure and torture the local population – to suppress their history and their collective memory' (Yassin-Kassab, 2015). Hence, though cultural heritage is material, it has an immaterial presence that supports societies in coping with their current circumstances (Edson, 2004: 336). Herein lies its potency; the ability to carry historical gravity (Mrozowski, 2016) – a *genus loci* that is inherently supportive of the human spirit and is open to several interpretations and meanings (Russell, 2006: 9). When heritage places and landscapes have this effect on people, then archaeologists need to understand why communities forget certain iconic places like Khami when others feel their hearts have been ripped out when a site is destroyed or abandoned. Finding how a site loses this potency is the central question of this book.

At a national level, the state requires a 'golden age', an idealised epoch that gives the nation a character (Silberman, 1995: 249). To the nation-state, heritage places or landscapes that bring out this national character are ideal for nomination for World Heritage status where the nation's pedigree can be displayed. The sites are never meant to give a complete story but they do provide a chain of important markers for achievements and pains of the nation, which Edson (2004) has called '*ersatz* markers'. These *ersatz* markers are a rushing flow of images of the past of which society only captures a few events, projecting them to unite individuals, inspire or subvert ideologies, or even sell commodities through the 'tourist gaze' (Russell 2006; Comaroff & Comaroff, 2009). The images of the past that are projected by nations are much more vivid, as they take advantage of sight and feed into the national psyche (Russell, 2006: 3).

In Zimbabwe, the '*ersatz* markers' are marked by the Zimbabwe civilisation, the arrival of the Ndebele and the struggles against colonialism (*Chimurenga* in Shona). *Chimurenga* is a Shona word meaning 'revolutionary struggle'; a struggle for human and economic rights and social and human dignity. The first *Chimurenga* refers to the 1896 insurrections against the establishment of British colonial rule and the Second *Chimurenga* to the guerrilla war prior to independence in 1980. The two are presented as if nothing else happened in between or before. However, not all heritage places from the Zimbabwe Civilisation or the sites of the *Chimurengas* are remembered. The earliest and most common heritage type (with perhaps over 80,000 sites) is rock art, which hardly features among the *esartz* markers of Zimbabwe.

This national narrative (as Smith, L., 2006 terms 'Authorised Heritage Discourse' (AHD)) is accompanied by a selective 'compulsive anniversaryism' (Edson, 2004: 341), performed as a constant reminder of the achievements of the citizens, current and past. In this, the past is always regarded by the nation-state as being better than the present (Newman & Mclean, 2004 and has to be emulated in the present and future. Thus, Zimbabwe conforms with Lowenthal's view (1985) that a heritage view of the past being preferred to the present. The present is viewed as a watered down version of a glorious (or painful) past. Nevertheless, even with these '*ersatz* markers' there is further selection of what is important to the narrative. What is selected must have a long experience of the majority, 'blood' (either spilled or common) and tangible cultural heritage that can be used to create a sense of community. Cultural heritage in any landscape, therefore, requires memory or narratives for it to be remembered and conserved. These narratives include the myths, legends, the names, the songs and folklore associated with the landscape. These narratives also provide an intimate bond through language and cosmological mapping of the environment. They can represent the fault lines (class, colour and ethnicity) that may exist within a nation state. When narratives are lost the physical place may also be forgotten.

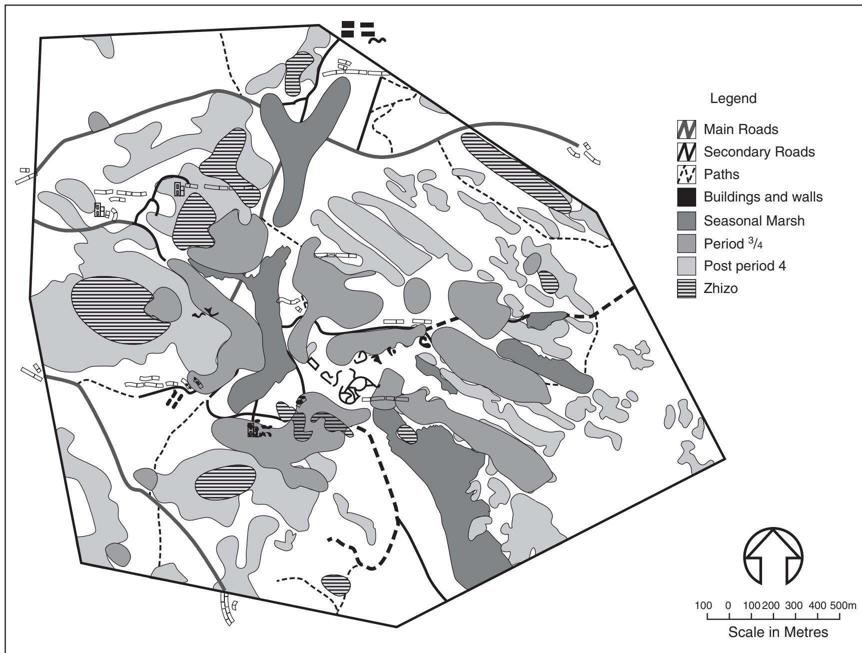
In this book, I argue that Khami has lost these forms of collective memories/narratives at community and national level. Though at the national level, the Zimbabwe Culture is the dominant narrative, not all sites may be relevant to the required story. Though Khami is a good example to show the continuation of the Zimbabwe civilisation after the collapse of Great Zimbabwe, it is not crucial for the current national narratives and the loss of myths, legends and names that has disconnected it from the local communities. The disinterest of communities and the state is a result of various processes of cultural change, which include migrations, colonialism and postcolonialism, as well as ethnic tensions. In some ways, the heritage management discourse in Zimbabwe is a continuation of the colonial one, where archaeological heritage is discussed as if it is disconnected completely from the local culture. The state usurps the heritage from local communities and assumes that communities can only express their heritage through national narratives that it creates. The legislation that created NMMZ, created an all-powerful organisation that identified, documented and preserved cultural heritage without any consultation with the communities. As an organisation that was inherited from a bitter colonial experience where native populations were never consulted, it has maintained the culture where local populations are seen as a nuisance.

Recently, NMMZ has also recognised that some of these heritage places are assets in the face of less funding from central government. The same legislation has definitions of heritage that every sector of the nation is supposed to use. The result is the lack of debate on what heritage is and a government department that views communities as competitors who may redefine heritage and usurp the special position it has. This has caused some problems in the management of heritage sites to an extent that some of the sites under its management have been vandalised. Domboshava, a 'rock art site' (and a sacred place for local communities) north of Harare, was defaced with acrylic paint in 1998 in protest against NMMZ's ban of religious ceremonies, which archaeologists had said was damaging the rock paintings (Taruvinga & Ndoro, 2003). After this event, NMMZ was forced to negotiate an agreement with the community who had felt that NMMZ was more interested in financial benefits and not the preservation of their culture. NMMZ had focused on the rock paintings, yet these rock painting were located in a sacred grove with a protected forest that the local community protected through a no-use policy. To date, this sacred forest is still not part of the protected landscape at Domboshava.

At Great Zimbabwe, three clans that claim the site have been co-opted into a 'Management Committee' that meets once a month and participates in 'decision making' on management and preservation of the site. The committee has representatives from Nemamwa, Mugabe and Charumbira clans and NMMZ management, and is supposed to make decisions on management and community issues. The management has made several recommendations including payment of school fees for 20 local children

and employment of local youth. From personal observation, however, the management at Great Zimbabwe seem to view this committee as a valve to release pressure for demands from the community. In most cases, the management committee is expected to deal only with traditional issues and conflict arising between the NMMZ and the communities. Issues of presenting and interpreting the site are however still the preserve of the 'experts'.

I am not suggesting that cultural production was stopped by the colonial experience as communities developed new ways to connect with the cultural landscape at Great Zimbabwe (see Map 4.1). Instead, they continue to pass traditional narratives on the Great Zimbabwe to the next generations on their own terms and within their own understanding of the cultural landscape. These narratives contain ancestral maps of the landscape, which the living can only perceive through immersion and performance. As part of collective memory, they encode features, ancestral personalities and historical events into the landscapes through myths and the act of naming. Communities also record the landscape through assigning myths and legends to certain features of the environment, which needs to be remembered as a resource or a prominent feature of the landscape. Myths and legends thus unravel the initial connection between these communities and the landscape



Map 4.1 Great Zimbabwe showing archaeological traditions ending at the fence line
Source: Ndoro, 2005

and can assist archaeologists in understanding the crucial stages of development of a cultural landscape.

A good example of this is the *Pfuko yaKuvanji* myth. It was first recorded by Karl Mauch in the 1880s and is still being told today. In the story, two vessels used to walk from springs in the Great Zimbabwe area to the surrounding mountains of Mupfurawasha, Ruvhure, Beza, Nyuni, Boroma and Bingura. The two pots walked together and collected water from the rivers and the sacred spring in and near Great Zimbabwe. As they moved from one mountain to the other, fire would follow them to each of the mountains. Once all the mountains are burnt the rain would begin to fall marking the beginning of the farming season. They also contained some 'shiny metal' inside which attracted one of the locals (Nekatambe or Kuvanji) to try and retrieve the metal. His hand was clamped and had to be cut off and he died as a result. This story is told by all clans who live near Great Zimbabwe. The story cosmologically maps Great Zimbabwe and the surrounding landscape. These stories not only name the most important features of the landscape they also demarcate the area in which the people are immersed and are associated with Great Zimbabwe. Additionally, there are details about the climate, water resources, as well as shrines within the landscape.

There is therefore some kind of 'ensoulment' of the land (Cajete, 2000: 186) through the telling of stories and this creates a psychologically and ontologically secure physical and cultural environment that protects the community as much as that environment is protected by that community. It creates a 'geopsyche' (Ingold, 2000), where not only the human mind knows, understands and communicates with the landscape, but the landscape also reciprocates and expects to be treated respectfully. In this ensoulment, environmental information is recorded and passed on through stories. The landscape is as active as the people living in it and communities develop empathy for places like Great Zimbabwe not because of conservationism and environmentalism but through the 'ensoulment' of the landscape.

This experience of communities from Great Zimbabwe shows that not every colonial experience causes irreversible trauma and loss. People created new ways to perceive the cultural landscape that they no longer had access to. Contexts are important in determining the cultural outcomes of a colonial experience (Dlamini, 2009) and it is context, which determined the perception of the cultural landscape at Khami. However, at Khami, the people-place connection – the 'ensoulment' of the landscape – was lost, while at Great Zimbabwe, denial of sacred space made the site even more desirable culturally. The experience at Khami therefore has to be deconstructed in a way that can make us understand the layers that accompany the processes of un-inheriting. Because the process of un-inheriting is misunderstood at Khami, heritage managers have been wondering why no communities claim Khami as they do at Manyanga, for example. Defining communities and stakeholders at Khami was mentioned in several interviews with museums and heritage professionals as one of the major problems of conserving the

heritage place (interviews: site manager of Khami, 2012; Mahachi, 2012; Nyathi, 2012).

There has always been tension between the north and east where the Mutapa state was based and where the Torwa breakaway state was located. Before the arrival of the Ndebele, this tension existed between the two competing states that both arose from the demise of Great Zimbabwe, the Torwa (later Rozvi) and Mutapa state. The Torwa state may have been the more powerful especially when considering the monumental nature of the cities they built after 1550. There are no cities of comparable size to Khami in the eastern and northern parts of Zimbabwe after the fall of Great Zimbabwe. The Mutapa state, though popular with the Portuguese, may not have been as powerful as the Portuguese make it to be, but it is, with Great Zimbabwe, much more celebrated in the national narrative than the Torwa/Rozvi state. In fact, the Portuguese record their expulsion from the Mutapa state by the Rozvi army in the seventeenth century (Randles, 1979: 8), showing that this state was a major player on the Zimbabwe plateau.

The present national narrative creates an unquestionable heroic narrative that avoids the ambiguities presented by the multiple histories that show the existence of two states on the Zimbabwean plateau. This heroic narrative is often repeated and creates a 'narrative template' (Wertsch, 2007: 654) that unconsciously influences public media, education, identity, as well as conservation agendas. This narrative template influences what history can be written or which names can be used in reclaiming the postcolonial landscape. For instance, the building housing the President's Office and Parliament of Zimbabwe was renamed Munhumutapa Building to celebrate the Mutapa state (a better-known successor of the Great Zimbabwe state), but no public structure has been named after anything connected with Khami, except a notorious prison.

The erasure of the memory of the Torwa state in local and national narrative has also meant that sites from this phase of Zimbabwe's history are forgotten. It is not only nations that remember and forget; communities are also just as selective with what they want as their heritage. Heritage managers are backward-looking and think that heritage is a past, but for many communities, it is in the present and can be used in new situations, experiences and interests. Heritage places thus have to provide manipulable information that can be used to provide new '*ersatz* markers' for communities as well.

Though Khami is identified as a World Heritage site by the central government, the 'community' in Matabeleland has its own unofficial definition of what is significant. These definitions, like elsewhere in the world, are sometimes linked to local power structures (Logan, 2012: 236). Celebration of what is regarded a 'Shona' heritage place may reflect subordination to the hegemony of the majority. Thus, Khami cannot be an *ersatz* marker for the Ndebele identity as it is perceived to be 'Shona' and has fallen off the cultural radar of the remnant 'Shona', for it is located in Matabeleland.

The name 'Shona' is a new invention that was created in an attempt to standardise dialects of a language previously called Karanga. Clement Doke, a linguist, was contracted by the Rhodesian government to create a standard written Shona in the 1920s and indirectly manufactured the Shona identity that excluded other dialects like Nambya and Kalanga (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2011: 24). The same exercise that created a standard language in Mashonaland was also carried out to create an Ndebele identity, with Venda, Nambya, Kalanga and Sotho/Tswana being forced to learn in Ndebele even in areas where it was hardly spoken, like Gwanda, Plumtree and Hwange. Ndebele became the official language of Matabeleland while Shona was used in all the Mashonaland provinces (Kadenge, 2010: 240). Documenting these languages was also discouraged in order for Ndebele to become the lingua franca of Matabeleland province. One of Doke's recommendations was that 'no school books or other books be published in Lilima (Kalanga) or Nambzya (sic) dialects' (Doke, 1931: 100). With time, it became more prestigious to speak Ndebele than Kalanga, Venda or Nambya in the Matabeleland provinces (Kadenge, 2010: 243).

These changes in identities created communities with new perceptions of their identity and the heritage that previously supported that identity. With these perceptions, the narratives of place were lost and cultural landscapes like Khami stopped evoking cultural emotions among the 'new Ndebele'. The Kalanga and the Nambya now see very little relationship between themselves and the 'Shona'. The consequence is that when interpretation of Zimbabwe Culture sites refers to the 'Shona' as the builders, they do not see themselves as part of that group and are, in the process, alienated from that heritage. These communities took up new markers of their culture and efforts to interest them in such sites as Khami have failed, as interpretations continue to credit only the 'Shona' as the builders of Zimbabwe Culture sites. NMMZ has been trying to interest communities around the site but these efforts have also been unsuccessful (Chirikure et al., 2010). It is not that the population living close to Khami is too 'cosmopolitan' for the past or that the farms around Khami have mainly migrant labourers from other regions and countries: it is due to the fact that, as a narrative resource for the Ndebele story, Khami is insignificant. Khami has also lost its own narratives that connected people to the cultural landscape and this severed the emotional links that people had in this landscape.

Condensing the landscape: archaeology and sacred landscapes

The discipline of archaeology emphasises the individual recording of physical features of cultural remains. Its main concern is provenance and this always removes emphasis from the landscape to the site and to a point within that site (Lucas, 2010: 240). This shapes how an archaeologist thinks about landscape and is reflected in how heritage places are identified and delimited. Archaeology mediates the process of demarcating landscapes,

yet most studies of landscapes show that they have no set boundaries (Smith, 2015). The use of the word 'site' in archaeology and heritage management arises from how archaeological places are recorded and studied, which dehumanises the landscape. Archaeology is the dominant discipline dealing with heritage in Zimbabwe and has defined the discourse of heritage, in terms of how heritage places are located, identified, documented and interpreted. By their very nature, landscapes are difficult to record for archaeologists, who are required to record a point on the map.

The physical, 'objective' landscape is a translation of our mental maps that are shaped by our past and present. Losing a cultural landscape therefore, is equivalent to losing a state of mind. The cultural landscape that individuals and groups view, touch and feel physically, are only kept alive by the perpetuation of the 'invisible landscape' in our minds (Fleming, 1998: 115). It is the 'invisible landscape' that attaches people to a cultural landscape. Cultural landscapes are therefore a cartographic representation of the culture of a people who have interacted with a natural environment and transformed it to suit their social, economic and political needs (O'Keefe, 2007: 3).

Landscape is thus first a 'mindscape' not environmental space in which culture is expressed, performed and identities located. A landscape becomes a place of memory, when it is positioned in both the past and present (Meskell, 2007: 36). Cultural landscapes are therefore, always about how human beings engage feelings when confronted with a territory. Our requirements for cultural borders in which our culture can be expressed without much competition from other cultures has forced us to create these mental boundaries, which we express through stamping our identities on natural landscapes. The ultimate result of this flagging of territory is what we refer to as cultural landscapes.

In Zimbabwe, such landscapes are abodes of the ancestors whose role is to not only guide and protect the living but also to punish when cultural norms are broken. As abodes of ancestors, the landscape itself is an actor in the lives of human beings. When wronged the landscape can revenge by preventing rain to fall, cause or heal sickness depending on how the living are treating each other and the environment (Gelfand, 1969: 37). The ancestors' major role is, however, to communicate to a single God who is variously referred to as *Mwari/Mwali*, *Nyadenga*, *Musikavanhu*, *Wedenga* or *Zame* on behalf of the living. The living cannot communicate with God except through ancestors. At the family level, one deals with his immediate ancestors, but for communities to communicate effectively with this Higher God, the ancestral spirits of the royal family that governed the area are consulted. Royal places like Great Zimbabwe, Khami, Danamombe, Manyanga and specific sacred landscapes like the Matobo Hills become important landscapes in which the natural environment, cultural environment and the intangible aspects of both are preserved by cultural norms. Every aspect of that cultural landscape from the trees, soil, birds, animals,

reptiles, water, rocks and hills and evidence of human settlement (ruins, burials, artefacts) is sacred.

Breaking the rules of the landscape not only attracts punishment from traditional authorities, but also 'from the soil' (the departed ancestors). Punishments from the local and traditional authorities are targeted at the individual, but 'punishment from the soil' affects the whole community. Hence, when Robinson excavated at the Hill Complex at Khami, he was warned of the consequences by the locals and the whole community was 'punished' the following year, in 1947, with one of the worst droughts southern Africa had ever seen (Robinson, 1959). These norms have not been respected by colonial legislations and the continual use of this same legislation in a postcolonial context has put indigenous archaeologists in the precarious position of having to deny their own people full access to sacred sites. These beliefs shape how landscapes are perceived in Zimbabwe. They have not, however, influenced how heritage places are managed, preserved or researched, as this knowledge bank is not consulted by mainstream knowledge systems. The cultural landscape is not only the physical remains that one can see but is also expresses a worldview that gives insight into issues of power and identity. Unfortunately, the invisible landscape that could not find expression under colonial legislation faces the same problems in a postcolonial Zimbabwe.

Science also tends to divide heritage into two domains; the tangible and intangible. This is a misrepresentation of the landscape as it is viewed by communities in Africa. Nature is not viewed as an empty slate on which 'man' draws his struggles to survive. It is an historical actor like the people who produce monuments and the spirits which may dwell in that landscape. Cultural heritage, nature and the unseen intangibles are never viewed individually but as one complete domain that people access when they can read the cultural metaphors in the landscape. The assumption of many social scientists is that cultural landscapes are 'perceived' not 'experienced'. Communities however do not regard themselves as superior or separate from cultural landscapes. Nature is subsumed in culture and people feel they are part of the landscape through the presence of the several layers of the past. Studying landscapes this way creates a 'landscape biography' and takes into account the individual groups which have interacted and shaped that landscape over a period of time (Roymans et al.,,2013: 338).

The site-based approach to cultural landscapes maintains a separation between culture and nature and treats each part of the heritage place as 'spatially discrete places', and stresses the need to manage the objects within, individually (Brown, 2008: 5). This approach to heritage management recognises only the current state of landscape and ignores the cumulative human actions on that same environment (Brown, 2008: 6). As a result, archaeologists in Zimbabwe discuss cultural landscapes as if they are immutable, in the same way that they describe archaeological sites as

fixed places whose location can be recorded with a GPS. The recording form for archaeological sites still requires a 'grid reference' point even for multi-component and expansive sites like Great Zimbabwe and Khami.

The cumulative nature of the landscape and the symbolism represented by nature and culture, which changes with time, are difficult to record with this approach. The effect of this on Zimbabwean archaeology has been that research is hardly extended outside the abbreviated colonial boundaries. Colonial systems of demarcation have remained in place even though there is ample evidence to show that the landscape can be larger than what has been demarcated. Indeed recent studies have shown that the cultural landscape at Great Zimbabwe exceed the current boundaries of the current World Heritage site (Sinamai, 2014). Communities have stories about the connection between Great Zimbabwe to other prominent features like hills and rivers through tunnels, but because the tunnels do not exist, these stories are deposited into the 'myth box' without examination of their meanings.

These stories and myths may however, be metaphors for the connections that the site has with some of these features and may point to the futility of boundaries in the management of landscapes. Studies from all over the world have shown that cultural landscapes are not bounded areas on a map but are mental maps representing a cultural cartography on nature. There is also a belief in heritage management circles in Zimbabwe that cultural landscapes are better appreciated in a rural setting than urban environments and that urban populations have no use for or interest in cultural landscapes (Chirikure et al., 2010). Furthermore, any new rituals are considered to be detrimental to the preservation of the landscape. Hence, NMMZ does not encourage people to use sites like Khami for new purposes or to express other religions except traditional African religions (Mahachi, interview, 2012). Because of these issues, cultural heritage management has remained the preserve of archaeologists with little or no inter-disciplinary or community participation. Current governance of these sites will further distance sites like Khami that are not part of narratives.

Porter (2016) gives an example of the same issues in Australia and concludes that landscapes are much more difficult to govern as they are multi-dimensional and attract contrasting interpretations. As a result, state bodies charged with the managing landscapes ignore the multi-dimensional nature of landscapes and concentrate on individual sites within that landscape because they are easier to define, locate and own. In other words, heritage places are governed by a statutory law that emphasises property rights rather than cultural rights of communities. In that way, these heritage organisations are not only controlling heritage places but also people's contemporary cultural rights and historical connections to heritage. In other words, heritage management becomes a governance, rather than a cultural issue. As long as heritage laws view heritage places as 'property' to be governed under stringent property laws, they will tread on people's human rights to culture and identity (Smith, L., 2006: 125).

Global heritage?

To date, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) (UNESCO, 1972) is the most ratified of all conventions in the United Nations system. After the 34th World Heritage Committee Session in 2012, the WHC had been ratified by a total of 190 States parties. By the beginning of 2018 these States parties had nominated 1073 properties (832 of which are cultural, 206 natural and 35 are mixed). The Convention has led to the creation of other entities as networks and lobby groups. Some good examples of this are the Organisation of World Heritage Cities and the Africa World Heritage Fund (AWHF). The former is headquartered in Canada and aimed at addressing the unique problems facing World Heritage places that are also living cities, while the latter is based in South Africa and aims to address the lack of funding for African World Heritage sites, increase the capacity of African heritage professionals and improve the representation of African heritage on the World Heritage List. Zimbabwe ratified this convention in 1982, two years after its independence.

The World Heritage concept is based on the premise that 'damage to cultural property belonging to any people whatsoever means damage to cultural heritage of all mankind, since each people makes its contribution to the culture of the world' (UNESCO, 1954). The nation is made a 'trustee for humanity' and has the responsibility of managing, conserving and alerting the world if something negative happens to the heritage place. In itself, the WHC is a unique tool for international cooperation, not only in protecting cultural heritage but also in diplomacy. The power to identify, nominate and manage, of course, lies with the nation state. However, the state's control over identification has shown that the selection will depend on what the nation state wants to project to the rest of the world (Anglin, 2008: 243). With a history of controversies in the interpretation of its heritage, the World Heritage system was a perfect platform to announce the return of Zimbabwe's heritage to its African owners. It is thus not surprising that the first sites to be nominated were Zimbabwe Culture sites (Great Zimbabwe and Khami), which were at the centre of these controversies.

Currently, 45 African State parties have either ratified or accepted the World Heritage Convention. Thirty-three of these have contributed 88 natural and cultural and mixed places, as well as Cultural Landscapes to the World Heritage List. Of these 88 sites, 18 per cent are on the List of World Heritage in Danger. The Democratic Republic of Congo has all its World Heritage properties on the endangered list. No sites in southern Africa are currently on the endangered list and only the Khami, and recently Nalatale and Great Zimbabwe, have been on a similar World Monuments Watch list. There is also a long tentative list with 286 sites across Africa (of which 170 are cultural) even though Africa has the largest number of endangered sites. Nomination is commonly accompanied by pride, especially in recently independent African countries. Zimbabwean, South African and Namibian

nominations were prepared within a few years of the countries' independence and successful nominations were celebrated as national triumphs. The nomination of Vredefort Dome (a natural meteorite site) in South Africa was greeted with great fanfare that showed although the process of nomination internationalised the heritage place, it also fed into cultural nationalism. The South African Minister of Arts and Culture, Pallo Jordan (Mawson, 2005) explained why this landscape was nominated:

> The awarding of this status is a proud moment for South Africa … This demonstrates that heritage can be a tool for nation-building … in fact for our survival as a human race. Representing the people of South Africa, we will set and maintain high standards for our heritage sites. The role of heritage is to contribute to the eradication of poverty. We are indeed pleased.

This pride, the need to 'correct historical wrongs' and the expectations of increased tourism had greatly influenced Zimbabwe to join the World Heritage Convention. Zimbabwe joined UNESCO in 1980 and ratified the World Heritage Convention in 1982. The main focus of the Zimbabwean government at Great Zimbabwe in those early years was, however, tourism. Development projects at Great Zimbabwe included 'a 6.5 kilometre ring road with electric trolleys' to 'circulate carrying visitors through the ruins' (Sassoon, 1982). The ring road was anticipation of a large number of visitors that were expected after independence. In fact the state expected over a million visitors a year for Great Zimbabwe and the ring road was meant to reduce the onslaught of the huge numbers of visitors on the fabric of the site. UNESCO, however, was more focused on the conservation of the site as well as its inclusion on the World Heritage List. Several UNESCO missions were sent to Zimbabwe immediately after it ratified the World Heritage Convention. After a UNESCO sponsored mission to Great Zimbabwe and Khami, Hammo Sasson opposed the development of the 'ring road' at Great Zimbabwe on the grounds that it would spoil 'one of Zimbabwe's most beautiful assets' and affect the authenticity of the place (Sasson 1982). His major reason for disproval was however, how the rest of the world would react to the ringroad:

> If the government implements this plan, it will earn the disapproval of thinking people throughout the world. Great Zimbabwe is not just a local asset; it is a world famous site and the world is interested in what happens to it.
>
> (Sassoon, 1982: 20)

The phrasing shows how Sassoon regarded Great Zimbabwe (and Khami) as World Heritage sites four years before they had even been nominated for the list. In other words, though Great Zimbabwe and Khami were still not

World Heritage sites, they had to be managed according to the standards of the World Heritage Convention, which in this case was an agreement of 'thinking people throughout the world' (Sasson, 1982). The Zimbabwe government did not go ahead with this project (which archaeologists at Great Zimbabwe had argued against) and decided to take the advice of the World Heritage Committee. The WHC advised at the time of nomination of Great Zimbabwe and Khami 'that any tourist development should be carried out with greatest prudence' (UNESCO, 10th Session of the WHC, 1986: 8).

It is not surprising that Zimbabwe's first nominations were the two cultural sites (Great Zimbabwe and Khami in 1986) that Hammo Sassoon had assessed and canvassed for nomination in 1982. UNESCO, through the UN's development wing, The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) had carried out technical studies on Great Zimbabwe and Khami aimed mainly at the preservation of the two sites 'in preparation for increased tourism' (Rodrigues & Manuelshagen, 1986). In reality, however, UNESCO was lobbying Zimbabwe to nominate its cultural heritage onto the World Heritage List and this was the major reason why a site that was not held in high regard like Khami was inscribed on the World Heritage List. This was, however, not unique to Zimbabwe; other sites like Axum and Lalibela in Ethiopia, Machu Picchu in Peru and Angkor in Cambodia had these 'technical reports' prepared through the United Nations development organisations in anticipation of inscription or increased tourism. At that, the WHC was reaching to other continents in response to accusations that it was essentially a European-focused organisation.

Even though these studies by UNESCO and UNDP were technical projects, they opened up communication and possibilities of technical cooperation on the conservation of these sites as well as their inclusion on the World Heritage List. They also provided awareness for the World Heritage system in Zimbabwe. The nomination of Great Zimbabwe and Khami were driven by the WHC and the nomination dossiers were produced by ICOMOS, on behalf of the World Heritage Committee.

Khami was nominated to the World Heritage List in 1986 under two criteria (iii and iv), as it was considered to

- bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history (Khami Nomination Dossier).

Nomination of these sites soon after independence put the new nation on the world map and 'culturally franchised' it as a new tourist destination. Great Zimbabwe and Khami were framed as sites that showed a technologically advanced civilisation with links to other parts of the world and justified the existence of the newly independent state rising from a sanctioned

and isolated Rhodesia (Carruthers, 2006: 4). Nomination was viewed as the globalising of the new nation of Zimbabwe through a heritage that showed a high culture. As a site that was constructed after the collapse of Great Zimbabwe, Khami was especially important in supporting the idea of the continuity of the nation, which is crucial to the creation of a unitary, homogenous national narrative (Labadi, 2007: 161).

At that time, there were rarely wide consultations beyond government departments. In fact, a search in the parliamentary debate records, the Hansard, for 1986 shows that the inscription of Great Zimbabwe and Khami onto the World Heritage List was not discussed in parliament, showing that the nomination was not a major event. This suggests that the government may have played a minimal part in the nomination of the two heritage places. The interest of UNDP in these Zimbabwe Culture sites 'in preparation for increased tourism' (Rodrigues & Manuelshagen, 1986) also raised the hopes of the nation that these sites could be cash cows, and when Khami failed to attract as many tourists as Great Zimbabwe, it was quietly relegated and ended up receiving less funding for conservation and development. With Great Zimbabwe attracting over 120,000 visitors (compared to Khami's 7000), Khami was viewed less as an asset and more as a burden for NMMZ and the government budgets.

Zimbabwe currently has five World Heritage Sites, two of which are classified as cultural (Khami and Great Zimbabwe), one natural (Mana Pools National Park, Sapi and Chewore Safari Areas) and one cultural landscape (Matobo Cultural Landscape). One other natural site, Victoria Falls (a World Heritage property), is jointly owned with Zambia. In reality, however, all these sites are cultural landscapes. With the exception of Matobo, which was inscribed in 2003, these properties were inscribed in the mid- to late-1980s, soon after independence. This was not an unusual precedent considering that World Heritage listing was popular among former colonies soon after acquiring independence in attempts to put the new nation on the world map. Mozambique and Malawi ratified the World Heritage Convention at the same time as Zimbabwe but did not nominate any properties until the 1990s.

Zimbabwean World Heritage properties are managed by two quasi-governmental departments: National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe for Khami and Great Zimbabwe and National Parks and Wildlife Authority (NPWLA) for Mana Pools and the Victoria Falls. Matobo Cultural Landscape is managed by the NPWLA with all cultural heritage sites (mostly rock art sites and colonial graves) being managed by NMMZ. This arrangement has been a source of conflict between these two organisations and it has spilled over to Victoria Falls, a place that under the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe Act is 'Monument No.1' and should, therefore, be under the management of NMMZ. There is no common policy on the management of World Heritage properties in Zimbabwe and each property is managed differently, even within the same

organisation. In the Matobo Cultural Landscape, conflicts between NMMZ and NPWLA have led to the latter to stop protecting cultural heritage places. The separation of culture and nature guides policies for these two heritage organisations.

The Victoria Falls, managed by NPWLA on the Zimbabwe side and the National Heritage Conservation Commission (NHCC) on the Zambian side, has had its share of problems with NMMZ claiming to be the legal owner of the site. As a National Monument under the NMMZ Act, the site belongs to the NMMZ but it has been managed by NPWLA due to the lack of capacity in the heritage organisations during the 1940s and 1950s. Now bringing over US$20 million in revenue, the NPWLA is reluctant to release the site back to NMMZ. This conflict has led to a court case in which the Attorney General ruled in favour of NMMZ, but the decision was overruled by the cabinet which restored the property to the NPWLA (Sibanda, 2010). The conflict is also transnational: the NHCC of Zambia feels that it could have a better management regime at Victoria Falls if it co-managed the place with a sister organisation, NMMZ.

All these conflicts show a lack of policy and coordination in the management of World Heritage properties in Zimbabwe. Within NMMZ itself there is also no concrete policy on how World Heritage sites should be managed and this has resulted in different management regimes and development statuses at Great Zimbabwe and Khami, the two properties under its control. Most of the UNDP/UNESCO reports were aimed at Great Zimbabwe and several activities, including a Development Plan and Donor's Conference on Great Zimbabwe (UNDP, 1993) ,were organised to benefit all heritage sites in Zimbabwe but ended up benefiting Great Zimbabwe alone. The national pride that accompanies efforts to preserve Great Zimbabwe is missing when it comes to preserving the Khami World Heritage Site.

At inscription, Khami was already a deteriorated heritage property and the WHC inscribed it with the hope that its management and conservation would improve, and even suggested that it could be included on the World Heritage in Danger list:

> The Committee shared the concerns expressed by ICOMOS on the state of preservation of the site which was seriously deteriorating due to the climatic conditions and the encroaching vegetation. It recommended that the state of the site be carefully followed and recognised that inscription on the List of World Heritage in Danger may be warranted. The Committee expressed its willingness to provide help for the safeguarding of the site.
>
> (WHC 10th Session, 1986)

The Committee was again complaining about the state of conservation ten years later in 1996. It cited development pressure, under-funding of

conservation, as well as inadequate manpower and recommended that some technical staff from Great Zimbabwe be moved to Khami to spearhead a conservation programme:

> The Committee noted the information provided … concerning the threats of the development project in the vicinity, which are leading to increased negative pressure on the site. It encouraged the Zimbabwe authorities to pursue their efforts for better conservation of this site by allocating adequate resources, and transferring the expertise acquired at the site of Great Zimbabwe.
>
> (World Heritage Committee, 1996)

Although these statements reflect a lack of desire to preserve the site, the underlying problem was the role it played in the creation of identities and its use in creating usable narratives of the state.

The pressure from WHC on the preservation of Khami led to the development of a management plan in 1999, which has been partially implemented. But even with this pressure, Khami's status of conservation has seen few changes since that first assessment carried out by Hammo Sassoon in 1982. Great Zimbabwe, however, has had huge financial resources poured into its conservation and development through a special fund (the Restoration Programme for Great Zimbabwe (RPGZ)) created by the government.

With the lack of resources to preserve sites beyond just Great Zimbabwe, the NMMZ feels that the World Heritage status sometimes burdens the organisation that is running the inscribed sites. The status requires certain expectations in terms of conservation standards and according to the Executive Director of NMMZ this has forced it to 'spend money that we don't really have' and with staff that has much less training than before (Mahachi, interview, 2012). Though there has been technical and financial support from the World Heritage Centre, this has never been adequate, especially given that there has been little or no government support. The conservation of these heritage places have now also been affected by the acrimonious political and economic environment that Zimbabwe has experienced since 2000.

Heritage managers take conservation as a technical pursuit incomprehensible to anyone else outside their field, yet the above discussion shows that conservation has a culture and an ideology that governs it. In western knowledge forms, conservation is a science, a definition that loses sight of the discipline's historical development and social construction (Deacon et al., 2004). This is how heritage conservation is viewed in Zimbabwe, and indeed, in the rest of southern Africa. This concept, which arose out of colonial legislation, ignores the fact that there is a layering of values in cultural landscapes and that these values are not fixed by time, but instead are fluid and change with new identities, new peoples, occasion and purposes (Sinamai, 2003; Whitting, 2005: 12). A site may not have community values attached to it today but could turn out to be one of the most important sites

at another time, with a different group as well as for a different purpose. As in many countries around the world, the concept of heritage has hardly been examined in Zimbabwe, where values are taken to be static and permanent, and where the process of identifying those values is very subjective (Lowenthal, 1998a: ix–x).

Even though many scholars have been critical of heritage and its management in other parts of the world (Trigger, 1998; Lowenthal, 1998a, 2000; Hobsbawn and Ranger, 1983; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996; Silberman, 1995), only limited research in critical heritage studies in Africa has been carried out. This has been hindered by the needs and expectations of 'nation-building' after a colonial experience. Most of the important heritage sites are used in nation building and there is no room to criticize the national narrative that emerges from this heritage without being branded unpatriotic (Sinamai, 2007). In the following chapters I examine issues of heritage in Zimbabwe through an analysis of how Khami has been managed and conserved in the modern sense for over a period of 110 years and how this has slowly changed the perception of Zimbabweans towards the site. The argument will be that Khami's fortunes have been influenced by how useful the site is in emphasizing national and local identities. I will interrogate how its universality has not swayed the perception that nation or local communities have on Khami. Khami's presence on the World Heritage List seems only to emphasize the Zimbabwe Culture as high culture comparable to that of any other part of the world.

There have also been new studies in the economics of conservation that have remained untested in Africa. Kobolt (1997) for example, examines a site's 'production externalities' and 'consumption externalities'. 'Production externalities' refers to the heritage place's ability to attract huge numbers of visitors and to create opportunities for retailers, hotels and other service industries, as well as jobs and taxes. 'Consumption externalities' refers to benefits that are not monetary, like national identity, education and bestowing a 'good' on to the next generation something referred to as 'public good' (Kobolt, 1997). For Africa, one can also add 'emotional externalities', which would refer to the ontological benefits that local communities can have through the sacredness of landscapes. Currently, Khami does not seem to have all these and how it can still be on the list of national monuments and World Heritage Sites would surprise exponents of this idea. Khami shows that what experts hold as 'significant' may not translate to preservation or commemoration by the state and/or local people. The major detail that emerges from this is that people don't always respond to cultural heritage in the same way and that their response depends on the contexts in which they find themselves in. At Great Zimbabwe, the WHC and NMMZ are accused (in the words of Evers & Seagle 2012) of 'stealing the sacred' by local communities; at Khami these issues don't even arise.

It also shows that treating places like Khami as 'sites' erodes the cultural landscape that it is and that erosion will also lead to 'editing' of the values,

especially those that are held in high regard by local communities. Khami seems to have been a landscape that was turned into a sanitised 'monument', through regulations, so called 'development' and environmental change. Thus, the problems it faces today are a result of all these and other socio-political changes. The World Heritage status has changed little and simply assisted in entrenching the perceived views of the State party. The state of conservation, lack of commemoration and research of this heritage place has led me to refer to it as an 'un-inherited' site. Un-inherited is a state of being uncelebrated through local and national narratives, whereas disinheriting is the active process of becoming un-inherited.

Khami's fortunes may, however, change as new meanings are attached to the site and narratives expanded. Heritage conservation has to consider this and cannot run away from the question of how identities are created, disputed and recreated (Harvey, 2001: 336). The following chapters will unravel the layers of Khami's biography, historicise the process of un-inheriting and understand how collective memory is formed and lost. The book does not aim to create a 'community' for Khami World Heritage Site (I realise that even this collective is always fractured); it simply outlines the processes that led to the cultural detachment that people have with the Khami landscape today.

5 Un-inheriting Khami

The conservation process

Introduction

Conservation is a mediated social and political process. The discipline of heritage studies and conservation in Africa require an epistemic disobedience to create local reference points and to critique western philosophies. African philosophy, like most other philosophies is linked to religions. In colonial contexts, African religion was regarded as dangerous to the colonial project. The result is that conservation refused to recognise traditional skills and rituals that could have been used in the reservation of cultural places like Khami. The colonial project also required taking ownership from the traditional custodians of sacred places and landscapes. As a part of heritage management, conservation was thus a part of the system of colonial governance. This chapter will discuss how Khami was appropriated through various means linked to its preservation. The skills required in the restoration of Khami have been lost in the Matabeleland region and that, accompanied with the lack of cultural connection with the site, has resulted in a lack of communal responsibility, as displayed by communities near Great Zimbabwe and many other Zimbabwe Culture sites.

The excavations, restorations and vegetation clearance introduced a new landscape based on western philosophies of conservation, which emphasised monumentality and the authenticity of the fabric above the invisible landscape. Zimbabwe communities do not see the ruinous nature of heritage places as a conservation problem. Indeed, the collapse of walls at Great Zimbabwe is seen as the wish of the ancestors and does not in any way diminish its cultural importance (Mabvadya, 1990). As a part of colonial governance, this philosophy also emphasises the separation of all human activities from the cultural heritage place. At Khami, this meant the dislocation of all 'natives' to create a frozen landscape for recreation and research purposes only. It also introduced trespass laws that excluded natives, even for religious pilgrimage. The result of this is the current indifference of the population to the plight of Khami World Heritage Site. Khami has not only been forgotten, but it has also been reduced from a cultural landscape with both invisible and tangible elements, to a site whose importance lies only

in its monumentality. The traditional technology used to build Khami has been forgotten, the narratives, which made it a cultural landscape, have disappeared and its continuity is only hinged on adequate funding and visitorship.

Understanding dry stone walling

Dry stone walls are in constant movement and, while these movements sometimes strengthen the walls, in most cases they also destabilise them. Because they are in constant movement, they require close and constant monitoring to predict when they could collapse to pre-empt this problem before it occurs. The problems that stone walls experience today were probably experienced during the occupation of these sites. Many original restorations by the occupiers of these stone-walled settlements have been discovered during restorations of some of the walls at Zimbabwe sites, including Khami. Often when they collapse there is no means of finding out where each of the stones was located on the wall, and because each block and course are different it becomes almost impossible to restore the wall. There are inherent weaknesses of the technique of building in stone without mortar and these manifest in problems like bulges, splits, toppling of top courses, shift in centre of gravity resulting in an acute angle of lean, fracturing of blocks, as well as settlement of foundations (Ndoro, 2005: 41). These problems, combined with problems associated with all abandoned structures and other external factors like vegetation, tourists, development, make documentation of the walls and their problems through various methods, a necessity. Several methods have been used at Great Zimbabwe to monitor dry stone walls and these include photographic analysis, mapping, colour coding of stone blocks, measuring movement with a demec strain gauge and measuring angle of lean (Ndoro, 2005; Sinamai, 2009: 90). Most of these methods partially work at Khami where most buildings are composed of retaining walls.

Conservation of these dry stone walled sites in Zimbabwe has always depended on conservation methods developed at Great Zimbabwe. The architecture of this Zimbabwe Culture was defined using the walls at the site too. Though there are similarities in the architecture of the Great Zimbabwe and Khami phases, the architecture from both these periods show divergences that were influenced by climate, topography and the materials that were available in these different locations. The fact that Khami does not receive funding for research has meant that its conservation is largely depended on knowledge that is generated at Great Zimbabwe, even though some of this knowledge may be irrelevant for the architecture represented at the site. To understand how this knowledge is passed on, however, one has to understand the contexts of both Great Zimbabwe and Khami. Great Zimbabwe is located in an area where traditional custodians of the site are still living in the nearby rural areas. Khami, on the other hand, has been

stripped of a custodian community and depends largely on academic experts for its conservation and interpretation. Amongst the population living Great Zimbabwe, there is a crop of very skilled traditional stonemasons, most of whom come from the Duma clan, who were the traditional custodians and lived within the site. People from other clans have been trained by members of this same clan. Though most are employees of the NMMZ, their work ethic when conserving the site reflects their traditional social responsibility of being custodians of the site. At Khami, however, the same traditional stonemasons do not reflect that same social responsibility because they were not traditionally responsible for the heritage place and the work becomes a 'job'. The passion that is displayed by the stonemasons when carrying out conservation projects at Great Zimbabwe disappears when they work at Khami (interview: site manager and personal observation). This lack of passion and absence of local traditional artisans near Khami also demonstrates the un-inheriting of this site even by communities that bear responsibility for other similar heritage places.

Dry stone architecture is one of the earliest skills developed by man and hence, is widespread throughout the world. Over 13 dry stone heritage places in Africa, Southern and Central America, Europe and Asia are on the World Heritage List, showing how they have become an important component of the global heritage. Its wide acceptance in such varied societies of course lie with the easy availability of building material, as well as the strength of the buildings thus constructed (Walker, Mansell & Dickens, 1990). The availability of stone meant that builders had enough materials for trial and error, which resulted in the development of some techniques common to dry stone walling, including those found in southern Africa today.

The construction style entails building with tabular stone blocks without any bonding material, with the stone kept in place because of careful stacking, the dead weight and the friction of the rough surfaces which holds each stone in place (Walker, Mansell & Dickens, 1990). There are, however, many varieties to the technique of building with dry stone even though the concept is usually the same. Stone walls in general were used for many purposes, including cattle enclosures, agricultural terraces, and later, defensive refuges (Garlake, 1970: 495). Yet, the dry stone walls of the Zimbabwe Culture are distinct from these construction forms as they were used to demarcate royal residences from those of commoners. The stone walls sheltered the royal families from the gaze of the commoners and created a social environment in which stone walls represented wealth, prestige and power.

In Zimbabwe and adjacent areas, the most preferred stone was granite, largely because of its parallel exfoliation pattern that produced layers of rock that could be easily shaped like bricks. However, laminar schists, sandstones, gneiss, dolerite and iron stones have also been used to build the walls and in some cases, used for decoration. Stone blocks were usually

quarried locally and the 'facing' stones were dressed on one side. The walls in most cases have no foundations and were erected on either earthen or rock foundations (Garlake, 1973; Pikirayi, 2001; Ndoro, 2005). Some of the walls are tapered (wide base and narrowing at the top) with the wide bases acting like the foundation of the wall. Stone walls of the Zimbabwe Culture comprise of free-standing and retaining walls. Free-standing walls are built with two outer faces with a core comprising of carefully packed, less regular blocks interlocked into the outer face blocks. This is more common at Great Zimbabwe than at Khami. Free-standing walls are the most monumental of the dry stone walls of the Zimbabwe Culture with some like the outer wall of the Great Enclosure reaching heights of about 12 metres and widths of 6 metres at the base. To achieve stability and greater heights, Zimbabwe Culture free-standing walls have been made in such a way that the width at the top of the wall is half the width of the base. This means that the wall tapers as it gains height. This makes sure that the centre of gravity is at the axis point of the wall and improves the stability of the walls.

Khami is largely composed of retaining walls creating platforms on which houses were constructed. There are two types of retaining walls: gravity-retaining and revetment walls. Gravity-retaining walls are free-standing walls which are backfilled during occupation. The weight of the wall resists the lateral pressure of the backfill that may be a result of continuous building and demolition of houses within an enclosure. Revetment walls are comprised of one outer face with core blocks and soil as backfill. These walls are weaker and collapse from lateral pressure, especially in the rain season. A good example of these walls can be seen on the North Ruin at Khami. There are variations to this technique at Khami where sometimes the revetment wall is an inner R style wall and the outer wall hardly retains anything and is just a decorative layer of the platform. The revetment wall technique is the most common form of building at Khami on over 80 per cent of the walls.

Many researchers have written about the stone walling in Zimbabwe since the 1890s (Bent, 1893; Hall, 1904; Randal-McIver, 1906; Caton-Thompson, 1931), but it is only in the early 1960s that architectural studies became a serious component of the research into this culture. Even then, the studies were restricted mainly to Great Zimbabwe. What was found at Great Zimbabwe was universally applied at all other sites including at Khami, which had a slightly different architecture. The first architectural studies were carried out by Summers and Whitty (1961) and classified the architecture of the Zimbabwe Culture based on the findings at Great Zimbabwe. Whitty's classification of the stone walls has been widely accepted in academic circles and has been generally confirmed by traditional stonemasons (Garlake, 1973; Ndoro, 2005; Leonard Mugabe (stonemason), interview, 2012,). The classification depends largely on appearance of the wall, with P denoting 'poor', Q for 'quality' and R for 'rough' (Whitty, 1959: 64). According to Whitty, there

Figure 5.1 The Hill Complex platforms and the Cross Ruin (bottom left corner) from the air. Houses were constructed on top of these platforms. The Khami River gorge is at the top of the picture

Source: E. Gauss, 2014

is a stage in which this architecture developed (P style) or when the masons were still experimenting with the material they had. In Rhodesian public history, 'R' was of a degenerate architecture developed by local Africans after the foreign Great Zimbabwe culture collapsed.

It was believed that, with experience, this architecture becomes fairly well developed and produces walls that are built with even stone blocks and are well coursed (Q style). It then degenerates and much older walls are robbed to build un-coursed stone walls. This is not always true as construction depended on the source of the material, its quality, as well as the skills of the person building it. Shallow quarries produce thinner stone blocks which produced P style walling. It has also been noted that it is not always true to say the 'R' walling is younger or weaker than the P and Q styles. The style of R stone walling is much more difficult to build and requires the skill of a seasoned stone mason, and in some cases is much more stable. The stones used in these walls are usually shapeless and undressed and they have many contact points with other stones on the same wall making the wall much stronger. The differences between the wall styles are therefore essentially aesthetic and not chronological. R style appears together with Q style and indeed was built before the Q walling. The fact that the hill complex is still standing today is essentially because of the R style inner walls.

Figure 5.2 A wall at Nalatale Ruins showing most of the decorations
Source: A. Sinamai

The uniqueness of the Zimbabwean dry stone architecture is the incorporation of decoration into the walls, especially in the Khami phase. There are a variety of decorations employed by the builders and these include (see Figure 5.2):

- Variegated stonework, in which stones of different colours are used to create linear decorations. In most cases bluish/black dolerite is contrasted with the grey granite. At Khami this decoration can be found at the Passage Ruin.
- Chequer pattern, created by missing out alternate blocks, is the most common decoration at Khami phase sites. It is extensively used on the terrace walls of the Hill complex at Khami.
- Herringbone (laying blocks at alternative slope in alternative course, more or less like the spine of the herring with the extension of fish bone).
- Dentelle, with blocks laid at an angle to the face of the wall.
- Cord, with blocks usually laid very thin at 45 degrees. It is half of the herringbone pattern. This has been recently discovered during excavations of the terrace walls at Khami.
- Chevron/zig-zag pattern. This is mainly found on sites from the Great Zimbabwe phase. The longest wall with this pattern is the outer wall of the Great Enclosure.

Some of these decorations become points of weakness for the now ruined walls. Many walls with herringbone, cord and dentelle at the bottom show serious structural problems, as the pattern tends to crumble under the weight of the wall. Herringbone and cord are laid at a 45-degree angle and the pressure exerted from the courses above result in the collapse of the pattern and ultimately the wall. This may explain why most walls with decorations show more structural defects than those that do not have decorations.

The architecture of Khami

As previously mentioned, the architecture of Khami is composed of revetment and retaining walls that created platforms on which houses were constructed (see Figure 5.1). The natural landscape around Khami was influential in fostering change to the Zimbabwe Culture architecture that is seen at Khami. Though the architecture at the site was highly influenced by the environment and the Karanga/Kalanga (Shona) culture, there were no hard and fast rules. How a wall or platform was built largely depended on its immediate environment as well as its use.

Boulders were incorporated into the platforms to support the back filling so that this filling does not exert too much lateral pressure to the outer retaining walls. Wood was also used where it was technically difficult to use

Map 5.1 The Hill Complex at Khami showing the position of houses
Source: NMMZ

stones and sometimes to lessen the amount of work. For example, wood was used on one of the walls at the Cross Ruin to avoid having to build another wall to act as a foundation for an upper tier. It was also used on the Hill Complex where both passages leading up the hill were roofed as well as for support for the platform walls.

Though both the free-standing and retaining walls exist at Khami, it is the retaining walls that dominate the architecture. Over 80 per cent of the walls at the site are retaining. Because of the material available, however, the free-standing walls are a little different to those found at site where suitable granite was easily available, like Great Zimbabwe. At Great Zimbabwe, the face-blocks are always tied to the core materials in the centre. The courses also have fewer wedges as the stone blocks are approximately of the same height (Walker, Mansell & Dickens, 1990). At Khami, however, the blocks are of different shapes and required the use of wedges to obtain an even height. The core materials are rubble, soil and small stones, which hardly bonds with the face blocks, making the free-standing walls at Khami much less stable than at Great Zimbabwe. Soil is also used to bond the core material with the outer facing blocks. The lack of stability of the free-standing walls at Khami restricts the walls to three metres in height and, therefore, are not as monumental as at Great Zimbabwe.

The foundations vary from bedrock to footing prepared with clayey soils, as well as midden material at the Hill Complex. In some cases, foundations have been dug to a metre deep. The ground is levelled and in some cases soil is brought in from elsewhere and compacted to form a firm base on which walls are built (Robinson, 1959). Excavations carried out during restorations between 2000 and 2005 show that the foundations at the Hill Complex are built of undressed cyclopean stone blocks on a prepared foundation. The stability of the retaining walls depends largely on the angle of lean of the wall. Most retaining walls lean inwards at about 35 degrees. This ensures that the centre of gravity of the wall is inside, meaning that the risk of overturning due to excessive lateral pressure is less (Walker, Mansell & Dickens, 1990). The retaining walls are always short at Khami and do not go beyond one and half metres. This is from the realisation that tall retaining walls are at a greater risk of collapse. The builders at Khami realised that as the wall height increases, the forces that are trying to topple that wall also increase. The angle of lean has been successfully used to monitor the stability of walls at Khami and has had better results than methods developed at Great Zimbabwe.

Instead of building one monumental retaining wall, the builders at Khami built a series of stepped terrace walls, which reduced the lateral pressure on individual walls (see Figure 5.3). The western slopes of the Hill Complex have inner-retaining walls in R style and a thin skin of Q style walling (which was more decorative than structural) which then covered the R style walls up. In the restorations carried out on the Hill Complex between 1999 and 2004, it was observed that although the Q style walls had collapsed, there was no threat

Figure 5.3 Terrace walling at the Hill Complex, Khami, showing inner R style walling

Source: A. Sinamai

to the platform as the R style walls were still intact. The general disregard of R style walling as a viable building style or as a later and poor imitation of Zimbabwe Culture walls is thus not correct. The R style walls are contemporary with Q walling at Khami and appear to be much more stable as retaining than free-standing walls.

Builders at Khami also made innovations to suit the new environment. Because the platforms were made of stone and soil, rainwater had to be drained away if collapses were to be avoided. A series of drains were therefore constructed on the platforms. However, after the occupation of the site these drains became blocked due to soil erosion, and with the lack of water draining from the platforms, lateral pressure increased resulting in the collapse of retaining walls. They also realised the weakness of rounded entrances made of material that is not bonded and changed all entrances to square. Post niches appear in passages and along the tiered platforms on the Hill Complex. For the passages, these niches represent posts that held the roof of the passage. The entrances, which in the Great Zimbabwe phase were rounded, were squared. Robinson (1959: 13) saw this as a possible influence from Europeans and Asians, but surveys at Khami show that sharp circular features in retaining walls develop splits and creates weakness points in a wall, and this may be the major reason for the change.

Figure 5.4 Wood used as a lintel over an irregular boulder, Cross Ruin, Khami
Source: A. Sinamai

Though stone was the most essential material for building, earth and wood were also important as they were used to build the platforms, as well as the houses that were constructed on top of those platforms. Carefully selected woods (which are not affected by moisture and insects) were used within the stone walls as lintels in addition as support for the walls. An excavation of the wall at the Cross Ruin (see Figure 5.4) revealed a piece of wood from the Lebombo ironwood (*Androstachys johnsonii – musimbiti* (Shona), *umsimbiti* (Ndebele)) that was used as a lintel to carry the wall over an irregular boulder. Wood from other hardwoods like *colospermum mopane* (Mopane) and *combretum petersii* (*Mutsviri* (Shona), *Umstvili* (Ndebele)) have been used on the passages leading up the Hill Complex, as well as on steep terraces of the western slope, and may have been used for scaffolding posts or to support a walkway, possibly used by guards.

Conservation history of Khami

There are no clear records of conservation projects that have been carried out at Khami and most of what happened in the last century can only be inferred from a collection of photographs and anecdotes from the people who have worked at Khami. Unlike Great Zimbabwe, conservation at Khami was haphazard. From as early as 1900 there was a

Figure 5.5 A group of visitors posing on the fragile walls at the Cross Ruin, 1907
Source: National Archives of Zimbabwe

noticeable deterioration of the site that was recorded by archaeologists and antiquarians. Hall (1904) observed that the major problem at Khami was vegetation growing within the stone walls, causing the walls to split apart. He also observed that some of the problems had been caused by what he called 'vandalism of visitors' (Hall, 1904: 226). Randal-McIver was to complain of the same problems a few years later, noting that 'as every person who mounts on a wall probably knocks down several square feet of it' (Randal-McIver, 1906: 56). It is clear from early pictures that illegal excavations, uncontrolled vegetation and visitors were the major threats to the site (see Figure 5.5).

The first 'excavations' at Khami were carried out in 1897 by William G. Neal and Geo Johnson, who were not conducting archaeological excavations but instead were treasure hunting. The Ancient Ruins Mining Company did some work at Dhlodhlo, Zinjanja and Khami before the outbreak of the colonial resistance war in 1896. In 1897, however, the company brought in a new, bigger machine named a 'Success Gold Separator' that could sieve 100 tonnes of soil per day and separate gold artefacts. A colonial report in the *Mercury* (Hobart, Tasmania) reported that gold found was being sent to jewellers in London and the company

Figure 5.6 The North Ruin showing spoils of illicit excavations carried out by treasure hunters

Source: National Archives of Zimbabwe

had already sent 300 ounces of gold to London before the new machine arrived (*Mercury*, Monday, 5 July, 1897). Specifically targeted were stone-walled areas resulting in the undermining of foundations leading to collapses. This is clearly shown by the photographs taken of the North Ruin in 1897, where soil was removed from the inside the wall resulting in destabilisation (see Figure 5.6). After an excavation, Hall informed the BSAC of the potential of gold objects at the site (Hall, 1910). He concluded the site had not been dug by treasure hunters until 1893, when the Ndebele king was overthrown and the regiment guarding the site had been withdrawn.

Official exploitation of archaeological sites for gold and other precious objects was stopped in 1902 after the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Ordinance, one of the earliest pieces of heritage legislation in Africa. The exploitation by visitors and treasure hunters, however, continued because the Ordinance did not create an organisation to protect the sites but gave the responsibility of controlling vandalism to the British South Africa Police (BSAP). The BSAP was more concerned with the feared indigenous uprisings and securing the investments of the BSAC than protecting heritage. When the expectations of finding gold at Khami were not fulfilled

land became the other option of getting rich quickly. Land around Khami was subdivided into cattle farms with about 300 hectares reserved for the heritage site, and was subdivided between the state (for the Khami Ruins), the City of Bulawayo, as well as Hyde Park Farm. The City of Bulawayo owned land on both sides of the river, including land on which some of the ruins were located. The Precipice Ruin, the Passage and half of the Vlei Ruins were within the city council area. In fact, one wall at the Vlei Ruins was dismantled to allow a city council fence to pass through. Other ruins were on a private farm (remainder of Hyde Park Farm) until 2000. Cattle were known to have entered into the Khami Ruins estate (and they still do), as it was not fenced, and were reported to be one of the major problems after human traffic and vegetation. Cattle were still a problem when Keith Radcliffe Robinson became Monuments Inspector for the Historical Monuments Commission in 1947.

Withers Gill (a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, UK) carried out some work, clearing vegetation at the site in 1900. Gill did not publish his work on Khami as much of it involved just cleaning the site. Franklin White surveyed the site in 1903 and produced the first accurate maps. His survey work was accompanied with the removal of vegetation from stone walls as well. Richard Hall, an antiquarian and journalist, carried out a few excavations and so too reported the removal of vegetation from the stone walls. He also noticed that one of the major problems at Khami was human behaviour (Hall, 1910). Hall, was later fired as the curator at Great Zimbabwe by the BSAC after reports of his plundering of the site reached the government through a report prepared by one of the first architects to carry out work at the site, Fredrick Massey. Massey's work created the first management programme for Great Zimbabwe and similar sites (Ndoro, 2005: 29). He recommended that a more responsible curator be appointed at Great Zimbabwe and that the curator should also be in charge of conservation at other similar sites throughout Zimbabwe. St. Claire Wallace, an eccentric BSAP ex-policeman and local farmer, who according to his former assistant planted maize for the sole consumption of wild baboons, was appointed as curator. Wallace occasionally cleared the vegetation at Khami between 1912 and 1947, but being a long distance monuments inspector, his efforts were always reversed with each rain season. Besides, Wallace was also preoccupied with restorations at Great Zimbabwe, which had become a premier monument for tourists.

The 1902 Ordinance did not stop the vandalism as well as the usual wear and tear that came with tourism on an unmonitored and unmanaged site (NMMZ, 1999). Although there was a museum in Bulawayo, this museum had been established by the Chamber of Mines in 1902 with a mandate to understand the geology of Rhodesia and how it could be exploited. There was, therefore, little focus on archaeology at the museum, as it had been established as a natural history museum. This indifference to Khami can still be observed in the management culture of the Natural History Museum

today. The City of Bulawayo also appointed a 'native caretaker' in the 1920s and it was this individual who was a custodian of the site until an archaeologist was appointed in 1947 (National Archives, Bulawayo, File BLG 3/93/359/11). After 1947, the caretaker was transferred to the Khami Waterworks but still worked at Khami Ruins as a custodian.

By the 1930s, however, colonial Rhodesia was getting more and more nationalistic, especially with the threat of becoming a province of South Africa hanging over its head. This nationalistic feeling led to the establishment of national institutions that could reflect a Rhodesian identity and thwart the ambitions of a larger union with South Africa. Many monuments, most of them battlegrounds of colonial wars, were created and there was a need to have an organisation managing these monuments as well as the archaeological sites scattered on the Rhodesian landscape. A new legislation, the National Monuments and Relics Act, was enacted in 1936 and it was this law that created the Natural and Historical Monuments Commission (HMC) or, in short, Historical Monuments Commission. This organisation was given the task of creating an inventory of all-important sites and managing them. The sites, referred to as national monuments, ranged from natural sites (like the Victoria Falls) to Zimbabwe Culture sites, rock art, as well as colonial buildings and monuments. Khami was declared a National Monument in 1937 but the commission did not have the staff to 'provide better preservation' of this of any other site. The Great Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls were given to the NPWLA, which had a full complement of staff, for management and conservation. The HMC appointed a site manager for Great Zimbabwe to work in conjunction with National Parks, but Khami remained without a custodian until 1947 when Robinson was appointed Inspector of Monuments (Ndoro, 2005).

Although Robinson's main interest was archaeological research, he provided essential information on the behaviour of walls at the site. He reported constant collapses in his diaries from 1947 to 1969, which also recorded the weather conditions and the local events of each day, including visits by prominent people. The diaries show that each time he recorded rainfall, wall collapses followed and long droughts preceded by heavy rain presented the most collapses. What emerges is a pattern where there are more and larger collapses in the rain season than in the dry season. His monthly reports provide an insight into the work that was carried out after his appointment at Khami. He removed the remaining vegetation from all the ruins as well as stabilising all the steps. Khami was obviously in a state of neglect when he arrived, considering that his reports from February 1947 to September 1948 all reported on the clearance of vegetation from the ruins (Robinson Diaries, 1947-64).

He restored several parts of the monument that he felt were more important. He secured the southern passage of the Hill Complex with iron bars to stop the development of bulges (see Figure 5.7) and cemented several areas that he felt faced constant threat from visitors or collapses. He also

Figure 5.7 Southern Passage shored up with iron bars
Source: A. Sinamai

preserved one of the houses on the Hill Complex with a '*vitrex*' clear plastic glaze diluted with salt water, an experiment that produced very good results in preserving *daga* (adobe) structures, but was never repeated in attempts to preserve these important parts of Zimbabwe Culture sites. The introduction of some these new materials also desecrated the site and further distanced it from local populations. Robinson's forte was, however, not conservation, but archaeological research and his study of the site produced one of the most comprehensive texts on the Zimbabwe Culture's Khami phase to date (Robinson, 1959).

Robinson retired in 1964 and a replacement was not appointed until 1972. In between, the site again reverted to the level of neglect of the pre-1940 period. In 1972, however, the two organisations that had been managing immovable heritage (HMC) and movable heritage (the National Museum) were amalgamated to create National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia. Regionally Khami fell under the Western Region which was managed from Natural History Museum in Bulawayo. With the usual friction that comes with amalgamation of any organisations, Khami also became a victim of mismanagement. A museum that had its mandate in researching the natural history of Rhodesia suddenly had the responsibility of managing and conserving monuments with no extra staff added. With archaeology curators based at the NHM there was no constant supervision of the stone walls and the site deteriorated further.

It was also at this time that the liberation war spread to most parts of Rhodesia and it became too dangerous for many government workers to go into rural areas without a military escort. Those sites that were regarded as unimportant just ceased to have inspections and hence became victims of the elements and vandals. By the end of 1979, even Great Zimbabwe had to be abandoned due to war. This meant that Khami did not have consistent preservation work from 1964 (when Robinson retired) to 1979 when the war ended (*The Sunday News*, September 23, 1979). After independence in 1980, little changed for Khami. The site was occasionally visited by Monuments Inspectors from the NHM but by 1984 the site was again too dangerous to visit due to the civil war (1982–1987).

Though independence gave Zimbabwe a 'new kid-on-the-block' status in the United Nations and resulted in several surveys being carried out for tourism and conservation, these added little to the fortunes of Khami. Rodrigues and Manuelshagen (1986) carried out condition surveys at both Great Zimbabwe and Khami as part of a UNDP project for the conservation and restoration of both heritage places. It was decided from this project that Great Zimbabwe receive technical assistance and capacity building after which the experienced staff would then move to Khami and other similar sites. Some of the information was used to create a master plan for the development of cultural heritage sites in Zimbabwe, an ambitious document that could have seen the development of almost all national monuments into resorts that generated funding for the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. The master plan assessed development potential of each heritage site and created a wish list for each of them. The assessment of Khami showed that the site had been neglected largely 'because it does not have the same symbolic significance' as Great Zimbabwe (Collett, 1988: 36). The masterplan declared that the site was 'a challenge for tourists' as it was 'more dispersed' than the Great Zimbabwe (Collett, 1988). In the plan, Khami was identified as suitable only for research and education and it was recommended that no tourist facilities like lodges would be built because of its closeness to Bulawayo. This masterplan also lists the site of Old Bulawayo as a site that could be developed for tourist purposes. Even though the master plan did not see Old Bulawayo as a major project for development (its development plan was only one page long), it received funding from the government under its Public Sector Development Programme. Other projects include the Walker, Mansell and Dickens' study (1990) of dry stone walling in Zimbabwe, which was mainly carried out at Great Zimbabwe. They visited Khami several times between September 1990 and February 1991 and did not see much difference between Great Zimbabwe and Khami. They formulated uniform methods for monitoring, documentation and the restoration of the walls for all sites, without considerations of the local environment at Khami. In one report, Walker, mentions huge collapses after the area experienced heavy rains, but this was not taken into account when they

created monitoring procedures for dry stone walls (Khami Archive, Files 1-4). In my opinion, it may be necessary to measure moisture content for Khami type-sites, in order to get the saturation point of the retained soil and when it can trigger collapses. This method would, of course, be redundant on free-standing walls at Great Zimbabwe.

It is also in the 1980s that Khami was integrated into the City of Bulawayo's master plan for development. The site, which is on a plot of land called Hyde Park was earmarked for 'African Urban Housing Area C', which meant that it was going to be surrounded by housing for the poor. The city did not expect any response as it simply instructed the NMMZ to 'take precautions' and 'necessary steps' to preserve the site in the face of impeding development (see Correspondences between the Town Clerk, BCC and NMMZ in Khami Archive, Files 1-4). Though housing development has been slow, some suburbs are now less than five kilometres from the World Heritage Site. The most devastating event for Khami was the development of the sewage plant just three kilometres upstream of the Khami River, which passes through the estate. This ill-designed and ill-placed plant offloads raw effluent into the river and the dam resulting in pollution of the water and an unbearable stench that covers the whole monument. This stench is blamed for the reduction of tourist numbers to the site. It has also affected projects like the restorations of the foundations of the Precipice Ruin, which are under this polluted water. The water is now unsuitable for activities that had attracted visitors to the area to the area, like fishing.

This problem led to the World Heritage Site being nominated to the World Monuments Watch List of 100 Most Endangered World Heritage Sites and led to the harnessing of international funding to create a management plan for the site. The nomination was supposed to be a wake-up call for the managers of Khami, but this did not last long. Several projects funded by donors were carried out and for the first time in over 30 years, Khami had a management team on-site. The government, however, did not play a major part in funding these conservation projects, concentrating on the Old Bulawayo project, which was a unity flagship project to placate the restless Ndebele who were complaining about the marginalisation of their culture in the national narratives. Throughout its life, this very ambitious five-year management plan was wholly funded by donors and was not renewed or reviewed after it ran its life. Khami still has a small management team today but struggles for resources. Of the 18 members of staff recommended by the management plan, only four people are currently working at the site, not all of them trained archaeologists or conservators (see NMMZ, 1999). Besides the restoration and building of staff houses, the major projects, which included a conservation and education centre and a new museum, have not been implemented. Restorations have been affected by an exodus of staff, especially archaeologists, surveyors and stone masons, due to the economic downturn and to the fact that enthusiasm to restore this site has once again waned.

The Khami World Heritage Site Management Plan, 1999–2004

When Khami was inscribed on the World Heritage List, there were no requirements for a management plan. The site had very little information that was scattered in a number of files in museums and archives at Great Zimbabwe, in Harare and Bulawayo. The Khami World Heritage Site Management Plan came about as the result of the nomination of the site on the World Monuments Watch's Most Endangered Sites list. This was a five-year conservation and development plan that was supposed to run from 1999 to 2004, after which a review of the plan was to be carried out and a new plan developed. It is a result of the apparent neglect of the site by the NMMZ (representing the government), as well as local authorities near it. As mentioned above, the Bulawayo City Council (BCC) did not seem to feel any responsibility for Khami and the environment around it, as shown by the development projects they had carried out over several decades, from the dam and the waterworks to the sewage reticulation plant that released polluted water into a Khami River that runs through the site. The recent developments had resulted in the World Heritage Centre issuing several warnings over how the site was being managed. The nomination of the site to the endangered sites list resulted in a grant of US$50,000 from American Express for the restoration of the site. The BCC also received a loan and grant from the World Bank to complete its sewage plant upriver. The NMMZ applied for a grant from the World Heritage Centre and received just over US$50,000 (letter to Executive Director, NMMZ, REF: WHC/74/110/068). Over a third of this funding was paid to consultants who carried out the management plan, with the rest used to buy equipment for maintenance and conservation of the site. The management plan outlined a programme of conservation and development of the site and also set standards for interpretation of the site.

The objectives of the management plan (NMMZ, 1999) were:

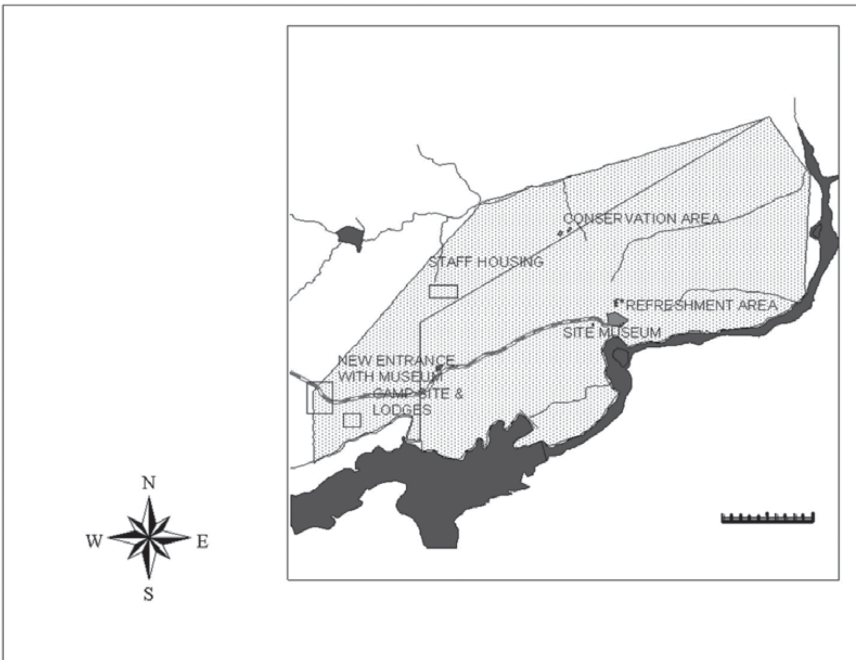
a) Conserve and enhance the archaeological heritage and natural beauty of the World Heritage Site and its environs.
b) Provide and promote access to and enjoyment of the cultural property for the public whilst safeguarding other important components of the property.
c) Create an innovative management regime conforming to the World Heritage standards.
d) Develop a range of facilities for public enjoyment of the monument.
e) Promote good relations with local authorities and the local community and find ways to include them in the development process at Khami.

The aim of the management plan was to create an environment in which the Khami World Heritage Site could be conserved and protected from internal and external problems, and create an environment which could be accessible to and enjoyed by the general public (NMMZ, 1999; National

Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe, 1999: vol. 2: 1). The plan, which was supposed to cost over US$800,000, was supposed to increase staffing capacity, improving the image of the site and to make it more welcoming through interpretation and development of infrastructure, as well as conservation projects. To achieve this, the management plan recommended for constant engagement of stakeholders, including the City of Bulawayo, tour operators, local farmers, as well as a tourism promotion body based in the city. The management plan had 12 major conservation projects some of which would have required participation of the city council, engineers, surveyors as well as archaeologists. There were also projects to build a new visitor centre and museum, staff houses as well as lodges. All this was supposed to be accompanied by a publicity campaign to promote the World Heritage site as tourist destination (NMMZ, 1999: 47).

Implementation of the plan

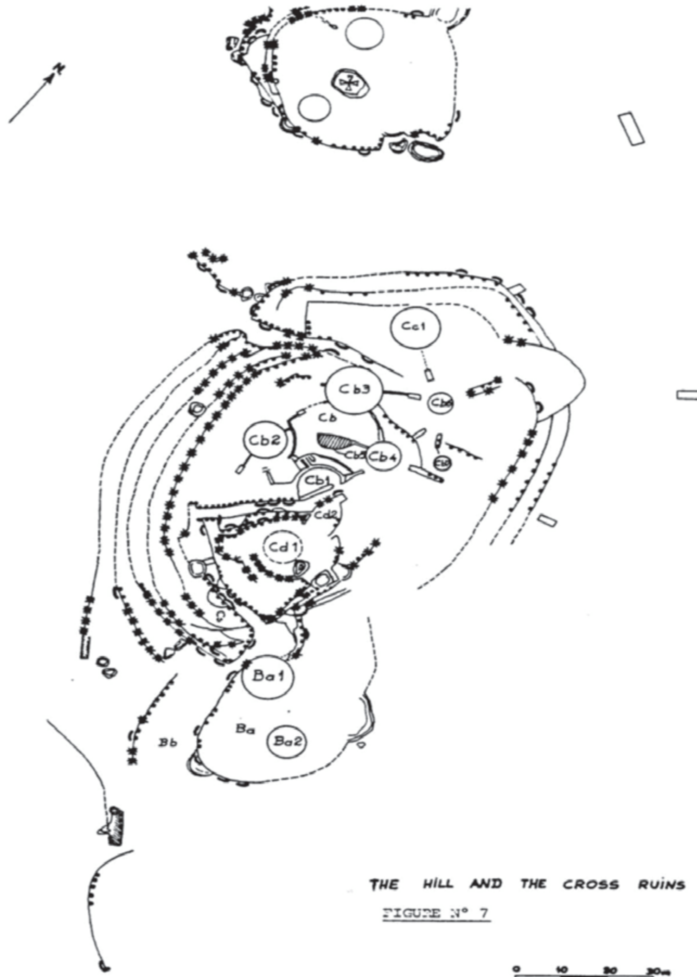
From the above objectives, the management plan identified different projects under the following topics: preservation, presentation, visitor facilities, archaeological research, publicity and marketing, wildlife and floral resources and administration of the site (see Map 5.2). Under preservation, a number



Map 5.2 The Khami estate showing future land use
Source: NMMZ

of conservation projects ranging from eliminating termites from adobe structures to major restorations on walls, all to be completed within five years. The programme was, however too ambitious. A lack of understanding of the architecture of Khami meant that the experience at Great Zimbabwe was used to predict the time that was to be spent on restorations.

At Great Zimbabwe, where free-standing walls are common, it is easier to estimate the time that would be spent on restoration. With platforms, however, one never knows about what walls could be inside the platform that could also need to be preserved. As it turned out, the platforms at the



Map 5.3 The Hill Complex at Khami before inscription on the World Heritage List. The dotted lines representing unstable walls and x representing collapsed walls

Source: UNDP

Hill Complex had several inner walls which required to be restored before the outer walls were stabilised. Thus, it took five years to complete the restoration and stabilisation of the Hill Complex, which the management plan had estimated would be completed in six months. More funds were therefore spent on the restoration of this part of Khami to the detriment of other ruins. The Precipice Ruin whose foundations were underwater was estimated to be completed in three months, but was it not technically feasible to undertake with foundations and collapsed building blocks in heavily polluted waters.

This management plan was difficult to implement, with some being particularly affected by the political and economic conditions that developed after 2000. There were 17 conservation projects that were to be carried out in five years and only three had been carried out by the time the management plan expired. There was very little improvement in terms of human resources and equipment and the site slowly went back to its usual administrative regime with its development fund reserves empty.

Great Zimbabwe and Old Bulawayo, however, continued to receive funding from the government and donors for development and conservation even after the deterioration Zimbabwe's bilateral relations with the western

Figure 5.8 The Hill Complex before the 1999–2004 excavations and restorations
Source: A. Sinamai

countries. Zimbabwe left the Commonwealth in 2003 and was also slapped with economic sanctions. In 2008, Great Zimbabwe received US$22,000 from the US Ambassador's Fund for museum security at a time that the US had sanctions against Zimbabwe (US Embassy in Zimbabwe, 2015). The US Ambassador's Fund also donated US$64,000 for the restoration of Nalatale Ruins in 2013.

Even with a management plan, the Khami World Heritage site continued to deteriorate as it was still under-funded by the government. While Khami was struggling, Old Bulawayo was opening a new museum built under the government's Public Sector Investment Programme that had withdrawn funding from the Khami World Heritage Site as part of the economic rationalisation. However, the management plan exposed the problems that the heritage place was experiencing. The documentation provided by the management plan also continues to inform conservation programmes at the site. With return to normality, it is expected that this document will become a starting point for conservation and management of Khami, but only if the government sees the importance of the site.

Conclusion

Khami is one of the most prominent of the Zimbabwe Culture sites and hence its inclusion on the National Monuments and World Heritage Lists. Its recognition lies in the status that heritage of the Zimbabwe Culture has been given by both the colonial and postcolonial state. However, even among these monumental sites, the state has selected to highlight certain sites and ignore others. Khami has remained uncelebrated by local communities and by both the colonial and postcolonial states and this has led to its deterioration and under-development. In other words, Khami is lost in the national and regional consciousness and this is reflected in how it is also researched and conserved. Very little conservation knowledge has been generated at Khami and it thus largely dependent on what is produced at Great Zimbabwe. This does not only provide information that may not be useful at Khami but also creates a mindset that Great Zimbabwe is the only Zimbabwe Culture site that is significant in the country.

To the state, Khami is just used to shore up Great Zimbabwe; to the locals, it has been stripped of its sacredness and thus erased from their collective memory. This process has been long: from the time it was seen as a source of gold by European prospectors and miners and a good source of building materials by neighbouring farmers. It has suffered from vegetation growth, animals like baboons and domestic animals like cattle, as well as tourists who were unsupervised due to the lack of appropriate staff. The worst effect has, however, been the movement of local people into the area, as Bulawayo expanded and land was turned into commercial farms. Khami has disappeared from the collective memory of the descendants of people who once held it in awe as recently as the 1950s. It is noticeable, however,

that both the colonial and postcolonial governments have had little concern for the site and the landscape associated with it. The conservation process itself did not always respect the cultural contexts in which Khami was found and in the process it also reduced Khami's standing in the eyes of local populations. Additions of new materials and removal of its components desecrated the landscape in the eyes of local communities.

Though there are several methods that could be used to monitor the site these have not been used at Khami and there has been very little transfer of skill from the Great Zimbabwe to Khami, largely because the state has no interest in the site. The problems that it has faced over the years point to serious neglect of the site. This chapter contributed one major argument towards the reason for this neglect: the production of knowledge in Zimbabwe. Knowledge generated at Great Zimbabwe has been blindly applied at Khami as if these sites are found within the same contexts and periods. Archaeological knowledge revolves around Great Zimbabwe as each finding is compared to what has been found at Great Zimbabwe. The result is the constant attention that Great Zimbabwe receives at the expense of sites like Khami, which could be equally interesting, with a little change in focus. This book is meant to examine why this landscape – which, through listing, both colonial and postcolonial governments have regarded as important – has been poorly managed since the beginning of colonialism.

6 Un-inheriting Khami

The socio-cultural process

Introduction: Socio-cultural distancing of Khami

This chapter places Khami in the context of a colonial and postcolonial Zimbabwe and shows how the cultural landscape was reduced from a cultural landscape to just 'a site' through various policies on land, heritage and management, as well as changes in identity among the people that could have valorised it. The gradual fading of the landscape from memory since the 1940s is clearly shown by the degradation of the environment through 'development', the disconnection of local people from ancestral lands, as well as the management culture of the organisations that have had responsibility for managing it over the years. The cultural disciplining of Ndebele society, which entailed a total change of identity for the original local groups, adherence to the Ndebele language and culture did not allow for the celebration and commemoration of Khami by those who could have claimed it as their heritage like the Kalanga, Nambya or Venda. This was so, even though it seems like the Ndebele elites incorporated Khami into their own cultural practices by maintaining it as a sacred site guarded by a regiment. The hegemony of identity and memory requires individuals to conform to the agreed collective cultural norms (Bakker, 2011: 241) and demands that the population that was once Kalanga/Shona cannot celebrate the heritage represented by Khami and still remain Ndebele in terms of identity. Of course, many Kalanga and Nambya and the remnant Rozvi royalty groups have continued to celebrate their difference with the core Ndebele population, but this has been carried out at less prominent sites like Lusvingo in Plumtree, Bumbuzi in Hwange or Ntaba-zika-Mambo in Nkayi, in the periphery of core Ndebele cultural spheres.

Each nation has a major 'narrative resource' based on selected traditions (narrative template) from which it builds the official story of the nation (Hall, 2004: 23; Smith, L., 2006; Wertsch, 2007: 648). This resource may include a variety of 'things' (languages, rituals and performance, monuments and sites, archaeological sites and cultural landscapes) that are selected and projected to influence the citizen and the visitor and which are used to address the uncertainties of identity. These resources are meant to be the

building blocks of the collective memory of the nation but problems arise as to what is to be included, abbreviated or excluded, and what needs to dominate or be suppressed (Gunders, 2012: 284; Lowenthal, 2011: 161).

For many societies, empirical evidence, as required by archaeologists and historians, is not important in connecting with the past. The Rhodesian settler community, for example, linked itself to the Zimbabwe civilisation, against all the evidence provided by archaeologists and historians. Similarly, modern Zimbabwe does not require empirical evidence in claiming pedigree from the ancient state of Great Zimbabwe. Cultural heritage is thus open to appropriation by any sectional interests within and without the defined territory and cultural boundary (Waitt, 2000: 854). The power of those sectional interests determines what is highlighted and foregrounded or what is silenced and foreshortened. Those things that are forgotten can create another narrative that may not be compatible with either the group or the nation's narrative (Hall, 2004: 23). Collective memory or the lack of it can also be used to subvert authority and the failure to remember sites like Khami may be a way of the minority Ndebele in dealing with the majority Shona's cultural hegemony. On the other hand, the remnant Shona in Matabeleland are not powerful enough to have a counter-narrative centred on Khami. As one Ndebele informant of Kalanga origin told me, 'Khami is off the ethnic radar' as most people in Matabeleland now regard themselves as Ndebele and celebrate Ndebele heritage. The experiences (political, ideological and social) of people in Matabeleland thus determine what they hold as important. For the Shona in other parts of Zimbabwe, the site of Khami has been lost to history through the occupation of the south-west by the Ndebele and therefore does not play a part in their collective memory, whereas Great Zimbabwe does.

Even though a large number of people in Matabeleland have a definite ancestral connection with Khami, their celebration of site as their heritage would not be possible without creating and maintaining a counter identity to the Ndebele one. As already mentioned, the Ndebele identity is hinged on the experiences of the population as members of the historical Ndebele state. It has also been enhanced by domiciling in the Ndebele dominated provinces in both colonial and postcolonial periods and by the postcolonial experiences, like the civil war of the early 1980s. These collective memories determine the Ndebele identity and influences what they identify, appropriate and commemorate from their past. Though cultural legitimacy of a people or a state comes from the dead (Harrison, 2003: x) it is only the selected dead that are celebrated. The memory of the last state (the Ndebele state) rules supreme, with a little surviving from previous state systems of the Torwa and Rozvi.

The Ndebele identity is obviously not seamless: there are sub-identities within, which opposes the supra-Ndebele identities. The historical Ndebele state was composed of three groups: *abeZanzi* (a 'superior' group composed of people of Nguni origin, mostly Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa), *Enhla* a collection

of different Sotho groups acculturated in northern South Africa before the Ndebele arrived in Zimbabwe and the *amaHoli* ('the slaves' who were the original occupiers of the area, Karanga/Kalanga/Nambya, Tonga). These sub-identities have continued to exist under the Ndebele umbrella but have also challenged its hegemony in several ways. The Kalanga near Plumtree for example, have used Lusvingo Ruins, a Khami phase site to celebrate their identity while the Nambya have also turned to Mtowa and Bumbuzi Ruins to carve a new identity outside the Ndebele one (Mahachi, interview 2012). These groups have also challenged the state's language policy by demanding that their children be taught in their languages (Kalanga, Nambya, Venda and Tonga) in schools, in place of Ndebele. Though these are groups in peripheral areas of the former Ndebele state, they take up the Ndebele identity in the face of Shona hegemony even though they are Shona sub-groups too.

Each state that has existed in Matabeleland after the Torwa is marked by a distortion of history or an amnesia that has resulted in very few oral traditions of the Torwa percolating through. The Rozvi took over from the Torwa and obviously made an effort to erase the memory of the earlier state to naturalise the legitimacy of their rule. When the Ndebele overthrew the Rozvi, they also made an effort to suppress the memory of the Rozvi state and change the narratives of the Ndebele of Shona origin. Ndebele rulers emphasised Ndebele language and culture as a unifier of the disparate groups that they settled amongst and enforced this culture on the conquered Kalanga, Nambya and Venda (Mazarire, 2003: 8). It is thus not surprising that the Ndebele King had stationed warriors at Khami. Their presence at Khami and other ruined cities may have been meant to guard against their use in rituals or in maintaining old identities. The Rhodesian colonial government further alienated these 'Shona' speaking groups by changing the language policy so that it could suit its own administrative boundaries and needs. Ndebele became the *lingua franca* of Matabeleland regardless of ethnic origin and 'standard Shona' became the official vernacular of 'Mashonaland Provinces'. Speakers of Shona related vernacular like Kalanga and Nambya became minorities who could only relate to the state through the Ndebele language (McGregor, 2005: 328). This shift in language policy resulted in a change of identity for these two groups who later saw themselves as being different to the Shona in the east, with the Shona also viewing them as Ndebele. The experiences of a shared history faded and heritage places that had appealed to all these groups (like Khami) became 'Shona'.

The resulting distortion of histories in Matabeleland and Zimbabwe makes Khami peripheral to both the Ndebele and the Shona with ancestral connections to the landscape. How places like Khami are used and re-used, modified, ignored, abandoned, revived and celebrated again has depended on how local and national narratives are told, retold, edited and forgotten (Bradley, 2008: 221; Nyathi, interview, 2012). Heritage, like culture, says much about how people behave and is a signpost of how they have

developed, and therefore touches on their identities. Khami suffers largely because it has lost its ability to signpost the distinctiveness of people whose identities have changed over the centuries.

Creating the Ndebele and the loss of Khami from collective memory

In the 1950s, it was common for the Kalanga to emphasize their connection to the Shona just as it was common for the Ndebele to contest this history. Cultural societies in Bulawayo like the Matebele Home Society, tried to redefine Ndebele into a regional identity regardless of ethnic background (Msindo, 2007: 277). Being Ndebele began to be defined by the space in which you interacted in, rather than by one's ethnic background. This, of course, was resisted by other groups. The Kalanga especially undermined this new narrative by their reconstruction of a counter-Ndebele history that linked them to the Shona (Msindo, 2007: 278). A letter to the editor of the *African Home News* from the 1930s, '*Umndebele Uqobo*' (Genuine Ndebele), criticising the Kalanga Cultural Society showed the contestations of identity in Matabeleland, which might have resulted in the slow discarding of cultural heritage of the Rozvi/Kalanga by the original population of Matabeleland:

> At their meeting held last Sunday morning […] strange things were said against the Matebele speaking people. Some speakers went so far as to say that the Kalanga were an offshoot of the '*Maswina*' and that therefore the Kalanga and the '*Maswina*' were one people … When are these young men going to learn that the Matebele and the Kalanga are one group, though they are divided into smaller unimportant sections namely Nguni, Sutu, Kalanga, Lilima, Nanzwa, BaNyai and so on, the same way the Maswina are divided into smaller sections such as Karanga, Mazezuru, Mahungwe, Manyika, Korekore and so on.
>
> (cited in Msindo, 2007: 279)

The Ndebele of course are an Nguni from South Africa and therefore were unrelated to the Kalanga groups mentioned by the letter writer. Kalanga (which encompasses the sub-dialect of Nambya) is regarded as a dialect of modern Shona though there are subtle cultural differences between the groups largely influenced by the Kalanga's interactions with the Ndebele and Tswana. This reworking and editing of history was not only limited to cultural issues but also included how cultural heritage that was celebrated. For the Kalanga, to be Ndebele they had to erase the memory of their connection to the '*Maswina*' and that included erasing the tangible icons of 'Kalangahood' including heritage places like Khami. It is this social engineering of the Kalanga, Nambya and Venda that shaped them into Ndebele that also saw them lose icons of their identities like Khami. Like all cultures,

Ndebele culture expected these groups to accept certain behaviours and traits that were deemed to be Ndebele.

These contestations of history represent the 'war of memory' that has been and is still going on in Matabeleland today, a war about 'whose ancestors should be remembered' (Lorenz, 2004). The desire to control society's memory has always been about hierarchies (Connerton cited in Hoelscher and Alderman, 2004: 349) and the Nguni Ndebele (especially the royal family), as the dominant group in Matabeleland, has from the beginning, tried to shape identities in the western parts of Zimbabwe from the time they arrived in the 1830s. The Kalanga and Nambya on the other hand, have also been trying to keep their identity apart from that of the Ndebele and have created ceremonies that are meant to make them distinct from both the Shona and the Ndebele. Ceremonies at smaller Zimbabwe Culture sites have become important in the creation of Kalanga identity in both Zimbabwe and Botswana. Lusvingo near Plumtree, Bumbuzi in Hwange and Domboshaba in Botswana are used in these newly created ceremonies (Sinamai, 2003).

The state of forgetting is a process that began as soon as the Ndebele arrived on the Zimbabwean plateau and it is thus central to understanding the problem that underlines this book. Individuals and communities remember and forget the past in response to what they require in the present (Van Dyke & Alcock, 2008: 3). The forgetting of Khami is a result of its current position outside the national and regional narratives. The original population has been 'subsumed and dominated, conquered and dismantled' (Van Dyke & Alcock, 2008: 3) by four state systems, including the Rozvi, Ndebele, colonial and postcolonial governments and the identities that have emerged from the existence of these states have determined whether Khami can be inherited in Matabeleland Province and in Zimbabwe. In creating new landscapes, each of these states has changed names, forgotten certain rituals and eliminated the contradictions of the earlier history or fused it with their own.

The collective memory of Matabeleland is dominated by that of the Ndebele state and the later experiences in which the Ndebele, Kalanga, Nambya and Venda have fought the colonial government and suffered during a civil war under a postcolonial government. These experiences have intensified the Ndebele identity even among those who still contest that same Ndebele identity. The experience of the 1980s made the various groups in Matabeleland realise that division couldn't subvert dominant authority. The result is that the Ndebele identity has become dominant in Matabeleland as has the apparatus that enhances that identity. Collective trauma has brought together disparate groups to create a united front against the domination of the national narrative by one group. Khami no longer creates a communal consciousness among the Ndebele of Shona/Kalanga extraction who have taken up an Ndebele identity. In forgetting, other identities are created, away from those celebrated by the state. Ndebele identity at a national level

is represented by Old Bulawayo, a 1860s site rebuilt by the government as a way of incorporating Ndebele culture into the national narrative. Other Ndebele groups have, however, invented other rituals associated with the founder of the Ndebele state, Mzilikazi at Mhlahlandlela, where he passed away and is buried. In a way, these new rituals are a way to rebel against the state's dominance in the identification and celebration of Ndebele heritage. It is an attempt to create a subaltern heritage discourse in opposition to the 'authorised heritage discourse' of the postcolonial state. This chapter establishes the process by which Khami developed from a landscape that people could identify with to one where only one aspect of the landscape (the ruins) are regarded as significant. It does this by examining the erosion of the social and natural environment and how this has led to Khami's disappearance in the narratives of Matabeleland region and the nation.

The death of a cultural landscape and the production of Khami as a 'National Monument'

The cultural landscape around Khami was created through several interventions to the environment from the time of occupation to the present. The area that is identified as a World Heritage site today has lost some of its significant aspects through forced and voluntary amnesia, and misreading of the landscape through a misunderstanding of the culture of the 'other'. First, the Torwa shaped this broken environment into a city built out of stone according to their cultural guidelines that divided royalty from the rest of the population. With a population of about 12,000 people the city had only five per cent of the population living in stone-built areas and the rest living in crowded housing in the plains below the complexes on the hills. The Rozvi dynasty, another Shona/Karanga offshoot from the north, destroyed the city, which thereafter became a ruin and acquired new meanings. The Rozvi moved the capital to Danamombe, leaving the city of Khami in ruins but still venerated by the remnant Torwa populations. By the time that the Ndebele arrived, Khami as a ruin was still held in high regard by the Kalanga and Rozvi, hence the location of a regiment to guard the ruin by the Ndebele King. The Ndebele, being new to the landscape, may have been afraid of the use of the site to fan rebellion by the overthrown Rozvi elites. The Ndebele, therefore, limited access to the cultural landscape, resulting in a disconnection that may have marked the beginning of the erasure of memory of Khami as a sacred site, as evidence from Robinson's records of local traditions seems to show (Robinson, 1959: 159–65) and will be be explored in more detail in the latter part of this chapter.

The colonial government demarcated the current landscape that is now a World Heritage site and because of the colonial relationship, the culture of the conquered was not important. What was important was Khami's monumentality, which was interesting archaeologically and could to attract tourists. The BSAC, which was granted a charter to colonise the territory

now called Zimbabwe, had seen Khami as an asset. Being an 'ancient site' probably built by some Aryan civilisation, it had potential to produce gold artefacts that could be melted into bullion and sold for profit. When this did not materialise the site was protected as an example of an Aryan civilisation that existed in Africa before colonisation by Europeans.

When the predictions of gold did not materialise, land became an important asset for the BSAC. Much of the land to the west of the City of Bulawayo formed a large farm named Hyde Park, and this farm was subdivided and sold to the highest bidders. The BCC owned much of the land on this farm though there were several cattle farms that supplied meat to the new city. There were also native settlements on private farms comprised mainly by sharecroppers and workers who could not find affordable accommodation within the city. An archaeological survey carried out within the Khami estate shows evidence of modern settlements until the late 1930s (NMMZ, 1999).

The City of Bulawayo built waterworks and workers' houses across the river opposite the Hill ruins and owned most of the ruins in the landscape (the Precipice, Passage and half of Vlei Ruin – the other half was owned by HMC). The Historical Monuments Commission, which was only formed in 1934, owned the Hill Complex Cross Ruin and North Ruin. Other minor ruins were located in the neighbouring private farms until consolidation of the land in 1999. For a long time, however, this cultural landscape was divided up and managed under different authorities with very different interests. The BCC for instance, built houses and waterworks on archaeologically sensitive land and quarried stones on hills between the Passage and the Precipice Ruin, where they built a dam. At the Vlei Ruin, a wall was brought down to allow the fence line demarcating the city and HMC boundary to pass through. These fence lines were significant as each of these portions was managed differently and marked the division of what was once an intact cultural landscape.

Further changes in the cultural landscape were made after the creation of the Historical Monuments Commission by the 1934 Historical Monuments and Relics Act, which saw the appointment of the first curator of the site in 1947. Robinson, the then curator of the site, established the boundaries of the archaeologically sensitive areas and also saw further division of the site as detriment to its conservation. However, he too added and subtracted features to the landscape. Some ruins which were shown on the maps before 1930 have disappeared and one of them is known to have been quarried for stone to build an entrance gate into Khami in the 1950s (E. Sibindi (caretaker, Khami World Heritage Site), interview, June 2004). Houses for staff and a small museum were also constructed during the period he was curator at Khami. The estate was partially consolidated in 1972 when the city council gave over its area to the newly created National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia. It is this area which was inscribed on the World Heritage List. The last incorporation was in 1999 when the land with Khami phase ruins in neighbouring farms was purchased by the NMMZ. This consolidation

does not mean that the whole landscape that formed the City of Khami has been consolidated. There are still some ruins of the Khami period across the Khami River within land that belongs to the BCC (see Map 6.1 for a depiction of the remainder of Hype Park).

The few academics who have written about Khami have assumed that the landscape they observe is the same landscape observed after its destruction in the 1690s. Yet there are layers of history that have not been uncovered or have been forgotten which may extend the landscape further than we know it today. The interpretation of the Khami World Heritage Site is thus limited to the current boundary that was based mainly on monumentality and other archaeological scatters. The current interpretations of Khami are based on the first descriptions that Hall gave in his 1904 book. Though the contents of Hall's descriptions and the latter interpretations are different, the idea still persists that only stone walls and artefacts found within can be interpreted. This has resulted in many other features being excised from the landscape, resulting in the alienation of the communities that once revered Khami. The Khami River and its sacred pools that were destroyed by the damming of the river were an important aspect of the site (see Robinson, 1959: 5). Its exclusion from interpretations of Khami and the pollution that has affected it has further changed the perception of that landscape to communities that had attached significance to it.

From the above, it is clear that different cultures, private enterprise, imperial greed, views of nationhood, public good and the discipline of archaeology have all influenced the creation of the cultural landscape that is called the Khami World Heritage Site today. In the process, many 'things' have been added or removed from the landscape in order for it to suit the different agendas that included politics, profit, conservation, research and tourism. The current landscape is therefore shaped by layers of interests and identities that add or subtract Khami from multi-level narratives depending on social, economic, academic and political need.

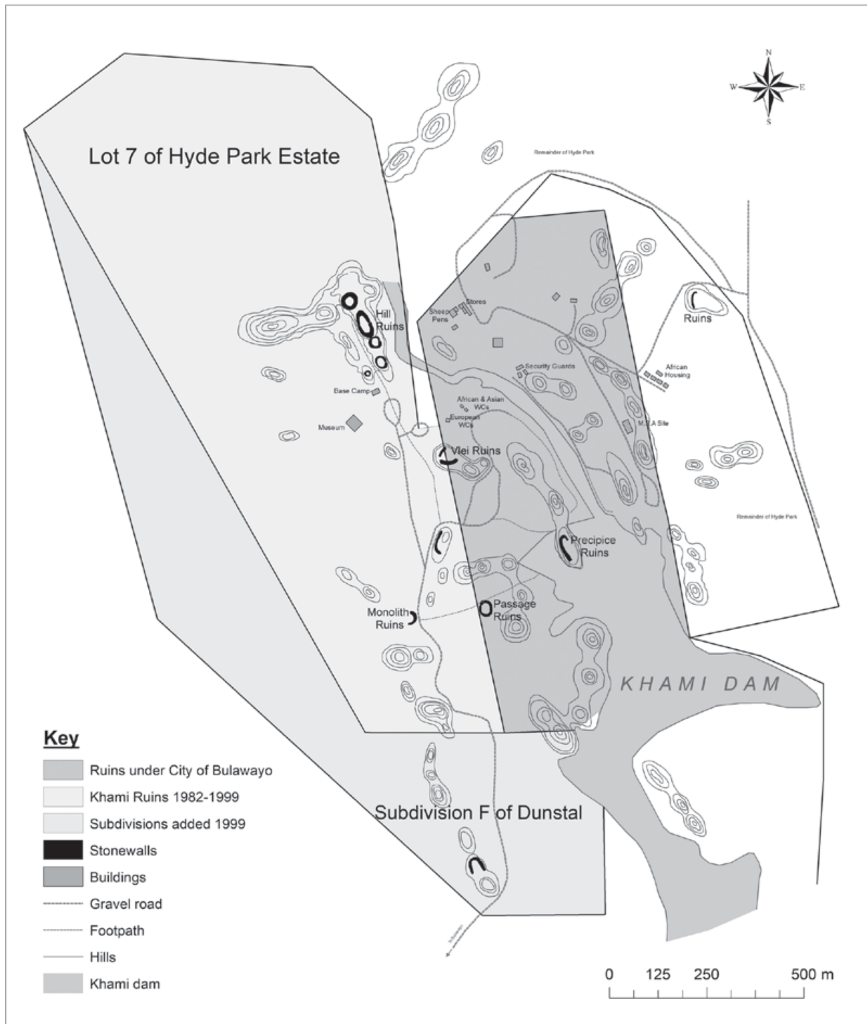
Created and shaped by the various ethnic groups that have interacted with Khami, the cultural landscape has been silenced by 'management', and thus leaving the site disconnected from stakeholder communities. In the early years of colonialism, there were very few attempts to collect oral narratives from the population that lived near it, as they were thought to be incapable of building the structures found at Khami. Because of this, other important features of the site, both physical and non-physical have been lost or are misinterpreted. This, of course, is not only a problem for the conservation and interpretation of the site; it has also shaped the research agendas at Khami. The demarcation of the 'site' through monumentality and archaeology has focused research within the monument estate with hardly any other areas outside being investigated. It has also ignored the narratives about the importance of the river in the cultural landscape. As a result Khami has become a frozen 'monument', important only for its monumentality rather than its sacred nature, which could have provided a

connection for stakeholder communities. This failure to read the traditional landscape has resulted in the alienation that is observed at cultural places in a postcolonial Zimbabwe.

This is also partly reflected at Great Zimbabwe where the monumental stone walls have blinkered research to within the established colonial boundaries. At Great Zimbabwe, however, communities have remained connected to the place, as they were not moved far from the site and continued using it for religious purposes clandestinely. Oral narratives on Great Zimbabwe have continued to be passed on to new generations. Oral traditions from around Great Zimbabwe report that the most prominent mountains around the heritage place, like *Mupfurawasha*, *Ruvhure* and *Beza* are sacred and 'communicate' with the Hill Complex (Chief Mugabe, interview, August 2003), but landscape studies are always limited to the 720 hectares owned by NMMZ. Though these features of the landscape are not regarded as important in the management of Great Zimbabwe, communities continue to connect them to the site.

Robinson (1959), in an addendum for his book, shows that Khami was regarded as a cultural landscape in his description of the site and its surroundings. He mentions the archaeological ruins that communities connected to the landscape at Khami within a six kilometer radius. There are three ruins: Ngulungundu, Ntaba yaGwalo and an unnamed group across the Khami River, near the Bulawayo Waterworks. Ngulungundu has recently been occupied by a spirit medium who believes there is a tunnel between Khami and this ruin (personal observation). Robinson (1959) also records oral traditions, which refers to Khami as '*the shrine of Mlimo* (Ndebele for God) before the shrine was moved to the Matopos (Matobo Cultural Landscape).' These traditions also mention that a hill across the Khami River (then called *Thaba yeNgwe*) or Leopard's Kopje as it is now known, 'was called *Njelele* and it is where *Mwari* (a high God) was worshipped' (Robinson, 1959: 161).

The name of this hill lost its meaning when Robinson translated it into English. For many archaeologists this name has come to mean an eighth or ninth century archaeological pottery tradition from south and west of Zimbabwe. The association between the leopard and royalty in Zimbabwe, which is shown by wearing of leopard skins by members of royal families, is lost and so is the story behind the site's name. The association between Khami and Ntaba yeNgwe is reduced to an archaeological relationship and the cultural association expressed through narratives is hidden. What seems to have remained in the 1940s was its sacredness reflected through the name Njelele. One of the most sacred shrines in Zimbabwe today, which is in the Matobo Cultural Landscape, is also called Njelele. There are also various other sacred sites in Venda areas in Zimbabwe and South Africa with the same name and its use at Leopard's Kopje reflect this sacredness at this place too. From this narrative, it is apparent that a significant part of the landscape has been lost through a misreading of the landscape at Khami. These oral



Map 6.1 Land use and ownership at Khami 1902–1972. Until 1972, the area marked ‘B’ was the only part of the monument owned by the Historical Monuments Commission. ‘A’ belonged to the City of Bulawayo and ‘C’ was private land

narratives mention both physical (tunnels) as well as ethereal connections of the site and its surrounding have been misinterpreted as myth, yet what they serve to show is the interconnectedness of the different natural and cultural features within the immediate environment of the Khami cultural landscape. In other words, the ‘myths’ and traditions only serve to highlight what is important within this landscape and how it is related to Khami. The

aim is not to prove whether they are true or false, but to understand that narratives, like material remains are tools of memory.

Currently, the area around Khami is sparsely populated with people who later bought farms or work on these farms (NMMZ, 1999). In the 1920s, however, the population of the area was much higher as was reported by a letter written to the City Medical Officer by the Chairman of the 'Water Committee', whose task was to develop water resources for the City of Bulawayo. The Committee complained of 'numerous huts and *kraals* (villages) occupied by natives' who were 'polluting the catchment area' of the proposed Khami Dam (National Archives of Zimbabwe BLG93/359/11, letter correspondence). It is known that there were some settlements within the area that is defined as the Khami World Heritage site today. Maps drawn in the 1920s and 1930s show numerous villages within the Hyde Park Estate. An archaeological survey carried out in 1999 shows a number of occupation sites from these two decades (NMMZ, 1999). These 'natives' who may have occupied these settlements were regarded as the "sources of pollution' to the new Khami Dam and therefore needed to be 'removed so as to guard our water supply' against disease. The committee was also reported that 'most of the natives had been living in the area for a long time' and had long cultural interactions with the ruins and its landscape (National Archives of Zimbabwe BLG93/359/11 letter correspondence).

After the establishment of Bulawayo, Hyde Park Farm attracted a mixture of peoples from all parts of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. It was under the 'Private Locations Agreement', which allowed new European farmers to settle semi-urban African populations for a payment and for sharecropping. Many of the original occupiers of the Hyde Park Estate were still living on the estate as did Ndebele, Kalanga and Shona migrant workers who were either looking for work or already working in Bulawayo. It is these people and the local people, who were removed when the dam was constructed in 1929. Most of them moved to a section of Hyde Park where occupation was semi-legal, and it is this area that was later divided into three western suburbs of Magwegwe, Pumula and Nkulumane. Others settled at the Catholic mission of St Peter's which was close by, where missionaries allowed native settlements within mission lands. In return, one was expected to abandon one's religion and adopt Christianity. Heritage places especially were to be shunned, as they were points from which traditional religion could be practiced and therefore were viewed as residences of the devil. Due to pressure from the missionaries and rapid urbanisation, this population, which had lived close to Khami, soon forgot about its significance in their lives.

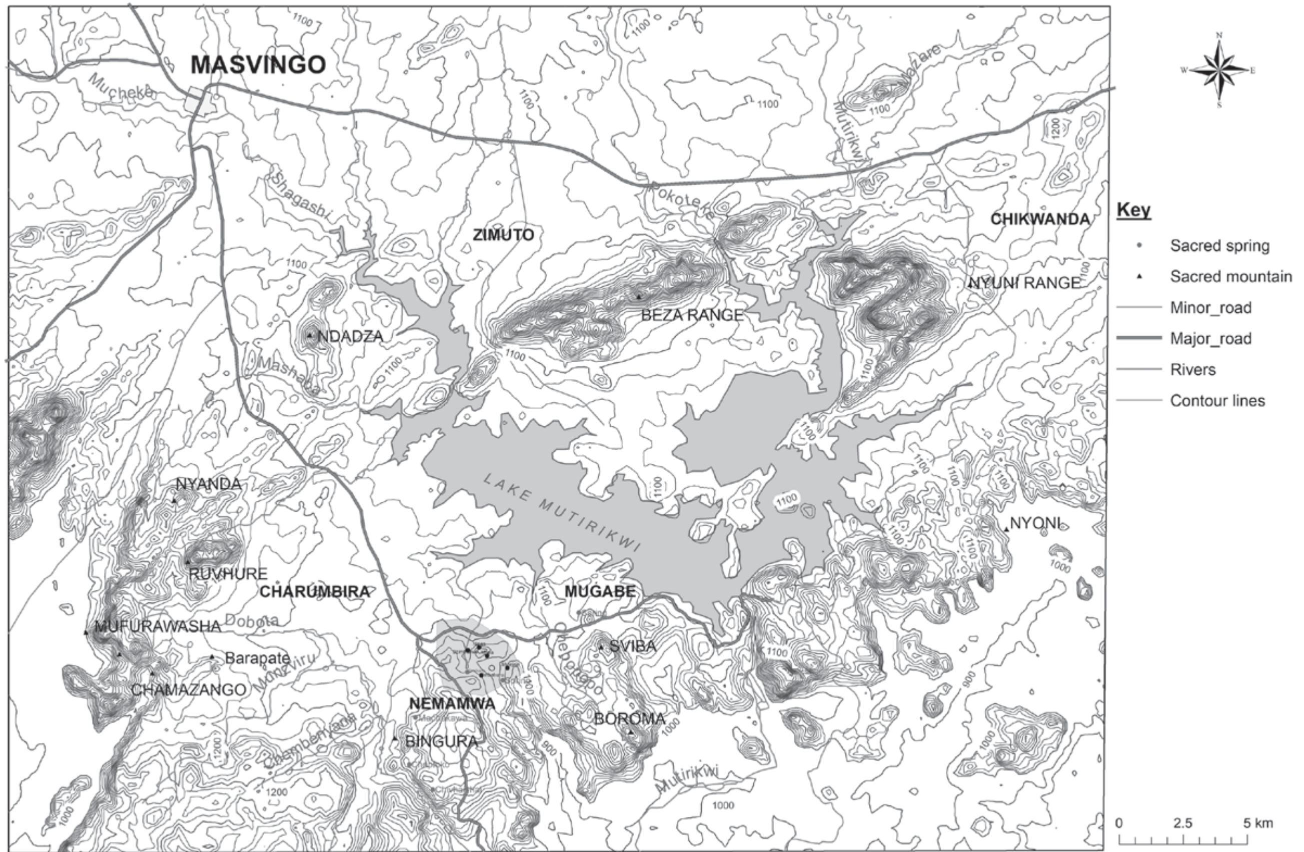
The population that relocated to the semi-legal suburbs was cosmopolitan and did not conform to traditional norms. Attempts to impose traditional leadership to control the 'waywardness' of this population failed. The Ndebele, and to some extent the Kalanga, tried to resist the influence of other cultures and one of these attempts was the riots against the Shona in

1929/1930 (Msindo, 2006: 441). Many of the complaints that arose at the trials of those involved in the riots were that the Shona disrespected Ndebele culture. Though this was not about sites like Khami, it gives insight into how people living near the site may have lost connection with it. The dominance of Shona culture was resisted in the early years of Rhodesia in Matabeleland and this may also have been extended to ruins like Khami, which by then were generally regarded as 'Shona'. The resistance to 'Shona culture' and removal of people living near it after the dam was built marked the disconnection of Khami, both culturally and physically.

The present boundaries have created mental boundaries and researchers cannot think of working outside these boundaries. Dependence on empirical evidence has meant that oral narratives have been ignored, which could assist in identifying the major elements of the landscape and enable the reading the cultural landscape. A medium who lived near Khami intimated that Khami was much larger than what NMMZ had preserved, through a narrative of a tunnel between Khami and another Zimbabwe culture site six kilometres away. This expansion of the landscape is viewed with scorn by heritage managers who depend on western empirical evidence in the interpretation of the heritage places and landscapes.

Growing up near Great Zimbabwe, I was told stories about how the Hill Complex was connected to mountains, rivers and royal burials in the hills around it. These traditions incorporate a much bigger landscape connecting hills, mountains, springs and rivers around the site. Without a physical presence, researchers do not know how to pursue these claims, but these stories serve to highlight the most important features of a cultural landscape and provide a cosmological map of the people living around Great Zimbabwe. One story mentions two clay pots (a male and a female) formed like an animal, which walked from Great Zimbabwe to the springs, rivers and mountains around it. As it walked from one mountain to the other a fire would raze the vegetation on the previous mountain it visited. Once all mountains were burnt the rain would fall, marking the beginning of a new farming season. Not only does this story identify some of the most important artefacts at Great Zimbabwe, it also identifies the major elements of the cultural landscape of Great Zimbabwe. It identifies Great Zimbabwe as a religious centre of the local cosmology. It also brings out the importance of water in this semi-arid environment. The stories are a record not only of the landscape but also of 'memory beads' used to remember intimate relationships that people had with their environment.

Recently an environmental impact assessment has exposed burial places that may turn out to be from the Great Zimbabwe period (Great Zimbabwe Conservation Centre, 2012). The colonial landscape established by early antiquarians like Hall and pronounced by subsequent archaeologists has abbreviated the the actual landscape and this has abbreviated the research, as well as the preservation of the actual cultural landscape around Great Zimbabwe. Similarly, the same methods of defining a landscape were used



Map 6.2 A Cosmological map of Great Zimbabwe

to define heritage at Khami and this process has eliminated certain aspects of the site. The cultural landscape at Khami is larger and the process that it went through from a landscape to a site has resulted in the loss of certain significances, both tangible and intangible. If present boundaries imposed by researchers and administrators are not broken, heritage managers will not be able to preserve all the elements of the cultural landscape at Khami, Great Zimbabwe and many other sites. Research will be limited to the artificial boundaries created by the cadastralisation of cultural landscapes into colonial landscapes. The failure of researchers to engage with cultural narratives on the interpretation of Khami resulted in the loss of intangible aspects of the heritage place, which had connected the community to the site.

For western philosophies the visual experience (monumentality, authenticity) is much more emphasized in landscape studies, whereas in Africa (as in Australia and elsewhere) the power of the landscape is in the unseen bond between landscape and the human presence. The landscape is perceived better as an abstract, a mental construct beyond geometry and a force in itself. It is memorised in narratives and their tools, including naming of features and places. The significance of place is also not exclusive to humans alone but to other 'beings' and 'things' that also value place in their own way. All these negotiate with each other and the accumulation of experiences creates a cultural landscape. Western reading of the cultural landscapes in Africa reflects what Kohn (2014) calls 'soul blindness': the inability to see beyond the human presence when studying landscapes and the failure to see the landscape the way it is seen by those who live in it. It is this soul blindness which hindered the correct reading of the cultural landscape at Khami. The 'myths' and 'legends' about Khami are a cosmic engagement with the landscape and should be studied and interpreted in the recovery of the cultural landscape at the heritage place (Sinamai, 2018).

The oral narratives and the residues of sacredness

During the occupation of Khami, the Khami River not only nourished the people and the environment around it, but may also have nourished the spirit. When it reached Khami, the hilly nature of the area divided the river into two, forming an island on which some of the dry stone platforms were also built. The Precipice Ruin, whose foundations are now under water of the Khami Dam, was built on this island. The island was not accessible during the rainy season as the river was flooded. Oral traditions collected by Robinson (1959: 160–63) from communities living near Khami identified that the landscape was sacred in the 1940s. Two of Robinson's informants point to the Precipice Ruin as being a sacred 'tribal meeting place'. One of the informants, '*Kutshinikwekaya*', told Robinson that

> [The] *Mambo* did not leave the hill under normal conditions, except to go to what is known as the Precipice Ruin. In that place were held large

> gatherings of warriors which might last a week or two. They sang and prayed for rain. When it was all over, *Mambo* returned to the Hill and performed some kind of rite in which a pot made in the form of a cow or bull played a part … He cried out loudly, no one knew what he said, and all the time he lightly beat the cattle pot with a stick bound with copper wire.
>
> (Robinson, 1959: 162)

This is probably one of the stories that proved to have some truth in it, as artefacts similar to the ones described in the tradition (a zoomorphic pot shaped like an animal and remains of a wire bound whip) were found during excavations of the Hill Complex where the *Mambo* lived (Robinson, 1959). These artefacts are in an exhibition in the Natural History Museum, but the story told to Robinson before his excavations were not used in their interpretation. Excavations have also shown that there is no evidence of housing on the Precipice Ruin (Robinson, 1959) and this may confirm the suspicion that this area was indeed used for ritual purposes only during the occupation of Khami. The *Mambo* was also known to have kept crocodiles in a pool on the western stream of the river. This pool was, according to Robinson (1959), was still known as the 'Pool of Crocodiles' in the 1940s. There were crocodiles in these pools until the late 1940s when they were all shot by the NPWLA for endangering people and animal lives (Robinson, 1959: 5). Crocodiles are very important symbols for Shona (Karanga/Venda/Kalanga) royalty and appear on many artefacts that have been found at Zimbabwe sites (see Figure 6.1). The stone-carved sculptures of birds, soapstone bowls and platters found at Great Zimbabwe as well as traditional healers divining bones all feature this crocodile motif. Among the Shona of Zimbabwe and the Venda of northern South Africa, the crocodile is associated with strength, stealth, male virility, fertility, procreation and rain (Eastwood & Eastwood, 2006: 43). In the royal succession traditions of some Shona groups, the selected chief or king is supposed to spend the night in the same room with a live crocodile before he is anointed king. If he emerged alive the next day, he would have proved to be a strong king. Kings are also supposed to swallow a pebble from the stomach of a crocodile to make them live longer. (Huffman, 1996).

The above discussion shows that the Khami River was therefore an integral part of the city and should have been regarded as an important part of the Khami cultural landscape and should have been included in its nomination as a National Monument and World Heritage Site. The major change in how this site was perceived came with the settlement of Europeans in Zimbabwe and this change resulted in the abbreviation of the cultural landscape at Khami to a site with different cultural values. This, accompanied by the shifting identities in the region, meant that the site was forgotten culturally. This aspect of the landscape has, however, been ignored for a very long time and this may have led to the loss of the intangible values of

Figure 6.1 Shona divining dices (*hakata*) with the second dice showing an abstract representation of a crocodile

Source: Brooklyn Museum Collection

the site, which in turn led to the disinterest that people have over the landscape today. The damming and pollution of the river and the removal of vegetation and wildlife abbreviated the landscape on which the narratives depended. The absence of this cultural context resulted in the erasure of aspects of the past that connected people to place.

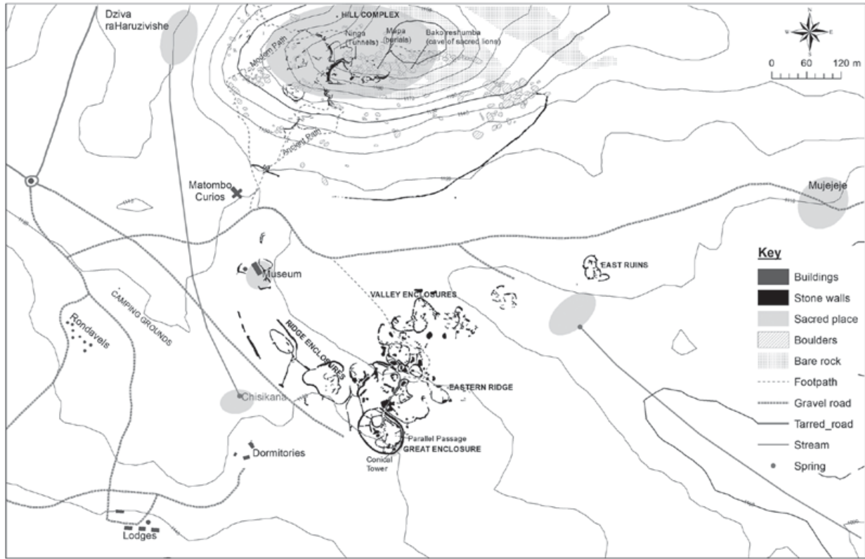
There is little doubt that Khami had been regarded as sacred even during the time that Robinson started to work at the site. Oral traditions that he collected at the time about the site prove that it was sacred. One informant reported that Khami was a place of *Mwari* before it was moved to the Matobo Hills, a landscape from where God speaks from. Robinson also inadvertently reports of how people revered the site through his failure to canvass for labourers to work on his excavations. He reports that though his shortage of labour was mainly due to people preferring to work in the nearby City of Bulawayo, those who remained behind were too scared to dig on the Hill Complex, as the site was regarded as sacred by local Ndebele people. He also noted that his archaeological and conservation work did not meet the approval of communities living near the Khami and he was blamed for the severe drought which hit southern Africa between 1947 and 1948. In the belief systems of both Ndebele and Shona, a drought was regarded as a punishment from God for desecration of religious sites, which Robinson was doing with his excavations and conservation work at the Hill Complex.

Another oral record reports a spear belonging to Mambo thrust into a rock in an area within the Khami World Heritage estate:

> Near the rock is a nest of ground bees … Even today the spear is seen, but it is not always there, and those who have seen it cannot return to the spot … When the finder of the ground bees goes away in order to fetch his hoe so that he may dig out the honey he finds on his return that all has disappeared.
>
> (Robinson, 1959: 160)

This legend is uncannily similar to many other legends at scared Zimbabwe Culture sites today. At Great Zimbabwe, a legend recounts how voices of the original occupiers of the site could be heard at certain times of the day (Sinamai, 2003). These myths and legends are not meant to represent historical truth, but to point to the different aspects of a landscape that is sacred. They point to a presence which cannot be explained through archaeological methods or mapped through geometry, but should be recognised in heritage management systems. These myths were meant to transmit sacred information to those who interact with the cultural landscape. Within a cultural landscape, myths go beyond the observable and become a method of mentally mapping a landscape (Rossler, 1999: 7). The myths and legends that are associated with sites like Khami and Great Zimbabwe are therefore metaphors intended to show the connectedness of the different features (natural and cultural) within a sacred cultural landscape. There are always two versions of a landscape: the visible and invisible landscape. The visible landscape is the physical elements of a cultural landscape which can be touched and felt and therefore preserved through restoration programmes. The invisible landscape is kept in the mind and can only be restored through stories, folklore, performance and the act of names that were left on the landscape.

In modern times, it has also been observed that the section of the river (where it passes through Khami Ruins) was sacred and is currently used by traditional healers to 'cleanse' their patients in the water from the polluted river. This modern activity being carried out in the river may be residual rituals associated with previous use of this river for religious purposes before the arrival of European settlers. The hills around Khami are also frequented by indigenous Christian churches (Christianity mixed with African religion) who conduct prayers and also baptise in the section of Khami River that is within the Khami Ruins area only. Usually it would not be culturally appropriate for Christians to access such heritage sites for religious purposes. At Great Zimbabwe, traditional healers are allowed only if they are collecting herbs and not carrying rituals. The rituals at such sites are the preserve of spirit mediums rather than healers. The fact that both Christian and traditional healing rituals are carried out without any complaints from communities or sanction from NMMZ shows the disinterest that local communities have on Khami.



Map 6.3 Sacred Places within the Great Zimbabwe World Heritage Site

These new rituals point to previous use of the landscape at Khami, which, although is not preserved in the collective memory of the people, is enacted within modern religions and new cultural settings. In the 1920s, a Christian cross was cemented on to a boulder on the 'Cross Ruin'. Hall (1904) claims to have found stones arranged in the shape of a Dominican Cross and cemented it. He also suggested that the cross was put in place by Portuguese missionaries in the sixteenth century when they visited the site. There is no evidence of any European visitors to Khami until the 1890s and the cross may have been a figment of Hall's imagination (Robinson, 1949). The Portuguese recorded their contacts with people living on the Zimbabwe plateau meticulously and what is known about the northern Shona/Karanga state (Mutapa) is from archives in Portugal. There are no records on the Torwa or Butwa state except on maps and a few reports of war between the Torwa and the Mutapa states.

In another new ritual, money is left at this cross at the Cross Ruin. Both local and foreign visitors leave money, a ritual which is said to attract luck to the person who participates in this ritual (see Figure 6.2). As Blain and Wallis (2006) discovered with Druids and other 'New Religions' at sites like the Stonehenge, these activities are not always inauthentic, but display a sophisticated interpretation of archaeology which archaeologists may want to examine and utilise in their interpretations of heritage places like Khami (Blain & Wallis, 2006: 89–108). A significant number of Christian worshippers and traditional healers have a perception that the landscape

Figure 6.2 Money left at the Cross Ruin by local and foreign visitors
Source: A. Sinamai

around Khami is somehow sacred and can identify features that are linked to their religion (the cross at the Cross Ruin, Hill Complex or the Khami River). The ritual does not appeal to any identities and both the Ndebele and Shona can engage in it without the fear of being seen to bow down to other identities or religions. The impotence of Khami is, however, in how these identities, both political and religious, can be practised without any contestations like at other sites like Great Zimbabwe.

This ritual marks the indifference that both the Shona and Ndebele have about Khami, but also displays the neutrality of the landscape in identity politics. It does not support any competing identities and is not a malleable narrative resource, but is useful in other narratives that do not focus on ethnicism or nationalism. Heritage places that are usually cornerstones of nationalism demand exclusivity in terms of who can claim them. Khami allows for different religions to be practiced and different people to practise it and shows the impotence of the site as an *ersatz* marker for any particular group of people. The fact that people are prepared to pay the tourist/visitor fee to come and engage in rituals like traditional 'cleansing' or Christian prayer and baptism in the section of Khami River within the estate, point to the sacred status of the Khami landscape (see Figure 6.3). At Great Zimbabwe, spirit mediums often refuse to pay to enter the landscape.

The communities that now live near Khami are urban and fluid in nature. They do not have traditional leadership who have powers to control land and the community's sacred places. Within these urban and semi-urban communities, power resides in elected officials who have no need to appeal

Figure 6.3 Christians praying at the Cross Ruin
Source: P. Hubbard

to heritage the same way that traditional leaders would need to do. It is also difficult for NMMZ to engage with them on issues such as management of heritage. The suburbs are divided into wards headed by elected councillors representing political parties. This kind of leadership does not legitimate its power through cultural heritage and instead, focuses on what wins them votes in elections, which often does not involve culture. Though there are environmental problems caused by people from Bulawayo's western suburbs, it has been difficult to engage the communities on these issues. This has been exacerbated by NMMZ's lack of experience in engaging with urban population in management of cultural heritage.

In interviews with NMMZ staff, I was informed that 'there is no community' to engage with in the management of the Khami World Heritage Site. Other heritage practitioners have also pointed to the cosmopolitan nature of the 'community' around Khami (Chirikure et al., 2010). However, the NMMZ's definition of communities may have led to this detachment from the heritage site. NMMZ engages better with rural 'communities' and there is a belief that connection with urban communities is better through the museum. They are easier to approach without the political repercussions that may arise when elected leadership in a less democratic state is approached over management of heritage sites. Constitutionally, they are supposed to be apolitical, but politically they are controlled by a government ministry and their power is also derived and controlled by this ministry.

According to NMMZ's definitions, the community around Khami is not easy to approach, as leadership 'is non-existent'. The result is NMMZ does not know how to approach and engage communities when it faces problems at these heritage places. Acts of vandalism and poaching of animals within the landscape have been common, but NMMZ has failed to find ways to approach this type of community. Where these have occurred at Great Zimbabwe, NMMZ created a Management Committee with local communities, and has found solutions to such problems through communal sanctions on whoever vandalises a heritage place. In most cases, there is a perception that urban populations are less inclined to associate with heritage places except as tourists. At Khami, the only solution to these problems has been approaching the police (Mahachi, interview, 2012). This lack of initiative on how to engage the communities around Khami has contributed to how people think and feel about the landscape.

On the other hand, the regional boards of the NMMZ do not reflect their own engagement with rural communities. The members of the NMMZ board are all recruited from urban areas and most do not represent any interest groups. They are selected by the NMMZ administration and appointed by the Minister of Home Affairs and feel more responsible to the NMMZ than to communities they are supposed to serve. Most are retired civil servants, academics and town councillors who have very little connection with rural populations. The NMMZ's lack of engagement with people arises from this undemocratically nominated board whose members see their role as to support the NMMZ against communities. Hence, NMMZ expects people living around Khami to cooperate yet it did not consult them when it developed the management plan for the site. The City of Bulawayo, a major stakeholder at Khami, does not seem to understand the potential of Khami as a tourist destination because they have not been involved in the planning and management of the site (D. Mukaronda (UNESCO National Commissioner), interview, 2012). The absence of an inclusive management committee at Khami, composed of all stakeholders, affects how they also respond to issues raised by NMMZ on the management and conservation of the site and also how they emotionally connect with the landscape.

Legislation and the distancing effect at Khami

Colonial cultural heritage legislation was mainly crafted around Roman-Dutch and English Common Law, both of which emphasize individual ownership of land. Unlike in England, however, most British colonies had centralised heritage administrations that were also a part of colonial governance. In colonial Rhodesia, the dangers of letting natives use heritage places were recognised early as most rebellions had begun with visits to these sacred places and some of the fiercest battles were fought around them. In Zimbabwe, the NMMZ was deliberately administered through the Ministry of Home Affairs, which had the capacity to monitor and control the native populations through the police and other law enforcement and security organisations. Until 1923 when the colony became self-governing, Southern Rhodesia did not have an army and the BSAP acted as a de facto army and police. Heritage sites like Great Zimbabwe and Khami were in those early years protected by the BSAP. Great Zimbabwe had a police post until 1910 and many former policemen ended up working for the Historical Monuments Commission. The first monuments inspector at Great Zimbabwe, St Claire Wallace, was a sergeant in the police service. The presence of the police at heritage sites marked them as inaccessible for native Africans. Throughout the 1950 and 1960s, archaeology was part of police training, as members of the force were expected to inspect heritage places in areas they were posted to (L. Nyoni, interview, 2012). With the abuse of power that often accompanied colonial governance and much of it meted out by the police force, many Africans avoided all areas that were monitored by the police.

When the land around sites was parcelled out to new owners (usually those who had participated in putting down the African rebellions) it became exclusive, in which communities with ancestral connections to the landscapes were denied entry. For example, both the Manyanga Hills (*Ntaba Zika Mambo*), a Zimbabwe site where the last Rozvi King was killed in 1835 and the location of the fiercest battles of the 1896 rebellions, and the Danamombe Ruins (the last Rozvi Capital) were allocated to the Miekle brothers who fought in these rebellions and later, became the richest family in Rhodesia. As private land, these heritage places became inaccessible to members of the Rozvi clans who wanted to use these places for religious purposes. The Matobo landscape was also parcelled out to several farmers (including Rhodes) and later turned into a National Park, closing off access to numerous sacred sites including *Malindadzimu,* which Cecil John Rhodes chose for his burial. This was not new: the Ndebele had denied Rozvi royalty clans access to these same sites for the reason that they could inspire rebellion too.

There were several land legislation beginning with the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, which divided land along racial lines, with 50.8 per cent being reserved for white settlement, 30 per cent African settlement

and 20 per cent owned by either the state or private companies. In reality, 70 per cent of land was owned by European settlers as Africans were not allowed to buy land or establish a business on state land, being confined to the 'African Reserves' only. To implement this legislation many African communities who now found themselves living in 'European' areas had to move and resettle elsewhere in the newly created reserves. Places that were designated 'national monuments' also became state land and people living on such land also had to move elsewhere. At Great Zimbabwe, the Mugabe and Nemamwa clans were removed as early as 1910 when the area was designated a 'state reserve'. Much of the land had already been given to pioneer soldiers who either ignored the African settlement for fear of rebellions or came to an agreement with them to become sharecroppers. The 1930 Act, however, made it clear that Africans could not lease or buy land within European areas and so this was the first time that some of these communities were being told they did not own the land they had lived on for centuries. The Second World War saw another wave of refugees and former soldiers migrating to Africa for new opportunities. Rhodesia, keen to attract white settlers to the colony, sold this land cheaply and also gave loans to these refugees. Their settlement was enhanced by strengthening the 1930 Land Apportionment Act through the 1951 Native Land Husbandry Act, which had to be amended and strengthened again in 1969. Many therefore, were moved to landscapes that did not contain the elements of their culture like ancestral graves and towns and they failed to connect with the new land and its cultural places. To African communities, land is not just an asset but is central to the belief system, as it is a cultural landscape that translates people's worldview. The land legislation, thus, also played a part in the un-inheriting of heritage places such as sites as Khami. It is however, interesting to note that the places that people continued to memorialise through narratives also continued to play a part in their lives. The disinterest that has been shown by people in Matabeleland over Khami, therefore, is not only the loss of memory through disconnections in physical space, it is accompanied by cultural shifts that were created by other policies of the colonial government, including language.

Colonial heritage legislation which equates heritage to material remains (monumental buildings and artefacts) is still in use today with a few amendments. It focuses on the material preservation of the heritage place through physical intervention on its fabric. The sites are perceived as important assets for the whole nation and can therefore be used for certain purposes by people who have permission from the authorities. This has resulted in the emphasis on policing the heritage places with recreation as the only activity allowed. Many communities with connections to these heritage places do not perceive their past in this way and cannot separate their lives from such places.

As long as the heritage legislation in Zimbabwe does not empower communities in identification, management and conservation, and as long

as they do not benefit from such sites, places like Khami will remain un-inherited. The mindset of the NMMZ as a heritage organisation also has to change so that it is able to identify and engage with 'communities' in urban settings. Linking management of heritage to social and economic needs may assist NMMZ in identifying these communities. At the moment, NMMZ emphasises 'patrol and penalties' approach, which antagonises the communities (Eboreime, 2008: 3).

Cultural heritage legislations in Zimbabwe created an authoritarian organisation that is more concerned with reinforcing the state's narratives and 'educating the public' about this same narrative. With the mandate to preserve cultural heritage places, NMMZ owns all the heritage sites declared as national monuments, including places that it has no knowledge of. It has the authority to appropriate land on which cultural heritage places are located without paying any compensation to the landowners. Once NMMZ has taken over, the sites can only be used for the benefit of the 'nation' though the organisation. The legislation does not allow for negotiation on how the site should be managed as this is regarded as the preserve of the heritage professionals. Taken as it is from the Rhodesian legislation, it is part of the reviled colonial legislations that deny communities their cultural rights.

The NMMZ Act has a specific cut-off date for what can be considered heritage, namely anything made or built before 1896 qualifies to be heritage. What the legislation implies is that the site is dead and has no connection with the culture that was practiced after the place was abandoned. What this means in terms of administration is that the present manifestations of culture cannot be connected to the fossilised heritage place and should not be managed under the current legislation. The act freezes heritage places in space and time and celebrates the past based only on the limited period it defines. Heritage places are usually frozen to the time that they ceased to be occupied and anything that happened subsequently is not viewed as an intrinsic part of the heritage place. As a result, cultural practices at sites after their abandonment are not protected by the legislation. This freezing of heritage in space has led to exclusion of certain groups who would like to express themselves differently at these heritage sites. Heritage places that people are not really connected to, like Khami, are further distanced culturally because of this legislation that freezes heritage and separates people from cultural heritage.

Though this is slowly changing, NMMZ still refuses to let communities economically benefit from heritage places or influence management decisions. Without any legislative support, communities have come to mistrust NMMZ to the extent that some have refused to let the organisation nominate their sacred sites to the National Monument List. Njelele, one of the most sacred sites in the Matobo Cultural Landscape, is a good example. It is traditionally a site where Karanga/Kalanga royalty performed ceremonies related to issues affecting their kingdoms, such as lack of rain, disease and

wars, among others. The site has always been managed by acolytes from a selected dynasty (Shoko/Ncube) and this status was maintained even after the Ndebele overthrew Shona/Kalanga royal families. Recently, NMMZ in its new zeal to protect 'intangible heritage', has been trying to inscribe it on the National Monuments List, but this has been resisted by communities. Communities have expressed fears that the sacred place would be opened to tourism and also lead to limited or no access for communities that are still using this sacred space for rain making ceremonies (Makuvaza, 2008: 72). With many communities complaining about the loss of cultural rights at heritage places managed NMMZ, communities in Matobo Cultural Landscape have a mistrust of NMMZ's intentions at Njelele. Thus, NMMZ does not only govern heritage but extends its mandate to managing communities' rights on behalf of central government. This is the reason why sites like Khami that do not attract the state or local people's attention can receive less funding and are not well preserved – they do not threaten powerful centrifugal interests in the same way that Great Zimbabwe or the Matobo Cultural Landscape do.

Khami has also been affected by a lack of coordination of the legal bodies that are involved in the management of heritage. Local councils in Zimbabwe (town and city councils) have separate laws to protect historical buildings and monuments in urban areas. The Regional Town and Country Planning Act (1998) and the Urban Councils Act (2002) protect heritage buildings built before 1910, as well as monuments within cities and towns. Some of these buildings and monuments are on NMMZ's national monuments list and are therefore also protected through the National Museums and Monuments Act. However, archaeological sites are not mentioned in the Regional Town and Country Planning Act and the Urban Councils Act and urban council have no idea on how to protect these sites. In an interview with a town planner in the City of Bulawayo in 2012, a town engineer was not aware of which law was used in management of cultural heritage sites like Khami. He informed me that if development threatens the Khami World Heritage Site, the city could use the local government legislation dealing with historical buildings to protect it, which in this case is not true. The Urban Councils Act only protects historical buildings and not archaeological sites within urban centres.

The planning department for the City of Bulawayo has no idea about how the heritage place could be protected from city development. It believes that as long as their activities are not affecting the stone walls, then they are not disturbing Khami, hence the surprise by the city engineer when I queried how sewage in the Khami River and dam affects the conservation of the Khami World Heritage. For the city, pollution only 'affected the environment'. This of course arises from the fact that the planning acts protect individual historical buildings and not the urban landscape. The site-based approach, as opposed to the landscape-based approach is also used in the planning act.

From 'landscape of ancestors' to monument: development and the landscape at Khami

The area in which Khami is located has a landscape that is characteristic of the Matopan environment, with granite outcrops rising from gently sloping surroundings. It is a dry semi-arid landscape which is very suitable for cattle rearing. Lying just 1302 metres above sea level, the area experiences medium to high temperatures in summer, though frost can occur in winter. It experiences very heavy rains in late summer (over 65 millimetres) and sometimes experiences *guti* conditions, an incessant cloudy, drizzly weather which soaks water into the platforms and result in unexpected collapses of the walls. The area is reported to have been teeming with wild animals. Unwin and Storr (1934) report of 'a good hunting ground' with hippopotamus, kudu, giraffe, zebra and leopard in their 1912 travelogue. The landscape also used to support elephants and buffalo before they were wiped out in the 1930s (Robinson, 1959). Today, this area supports herds of kudus and other smaller animals like duikers, hyrax and impalas. Leopards have also been observed within the estate. These animals and the abundant vegetation have also attracted poachers from the depressed western suburbs of Bulawayo. Trees have been cut for firewood while the animals have been hunted for meat, and investments that the NMMZ had made in fencing the estate was destroyed by desperate residents of low-income suburbs like Pumula, Luveve, Magwegwe and Nkulumane. Though these problems have been observed at a much smaller scale at Great Zimbabwe, the community has always played a part in condemning these acts and in apprehending the culprits (Mahachi, interview, 2012). Around Khami, where the population is lower and communities feel they have no stake, there is no assistance in apprehending those vandalising the landscape.

The use of the land during and after the occupation of Khami affected the vegetation and the vegetation regime that exists is now a mixed *miombo* woodland that is dominated by various acacia species, a tree that does well on soil exhausted from farming. The area further away from the Khami, however, is dominated by *mopane* (*colosphermum mopane*) woodlands (Frost, Timberlake & Chidumayo, 2002). Leaves of the Mopane tree provide excellent fodder for domestic stock, especially in an area like Matabeleland, which is prone to frequent droughts. It also provided termite-resistant wood that could be used for building houses and was also employed by the stonemasons in building the platforms. Trees growing on the platforms have, however, caused more structural problems through root action. Vegetation has been cleared from all the platforms but this was done after the roots had already caused structural shifts in the walls.

A bedrock of granite can be found everywhere around the Khami landscape especially along the river. The granite outcrops normally called 'castle kopjes' in southern Africa have boulders appearing to precariously balance on top of each other. This characteristic feature is a result of the weathering

of the rock in a cubic pattern. The granite in this area is banded gneiss, which appears to be yellowish and bluish in colour and is fine grained, as it was formed under high pressure. The bluish colour is a result of mafic minerals from dolerites and this makes the granite very hard and difficult to quarry. Once quarried, however, the stone is a very strong material for building dry stone walls, as shown by the absence of splits on individual stones. The area also has occasional dolerite dykes, which were also exploited in the building of the city (Rodrigues & Manuelshagen, 1986: 13). Dolerite is much harder to quarry and very few quarries for dolerite were exploited. Given this special quality dolerite blocks were used to contrast with the grey of the granite as decoration. Due to slow weathering and more widespread joints within the granite rock, however, perfect building blocks were difficult to produce from this rock found near Khami.

At Great Zimbabwe, where the mainly biotitic granite exfoliates in an onion pattern, the blocks produced from most quarries were even in terms of their heights (Ndoro, 2005: 22). Most of the stone used at Great Zimbabwe was quarried from *dwalas,* hump-shaped granite domes that exfoliate in even layers. This made the process of quarrying (by lighting a fire on an exfoliating layer), dressing and building much easier at Great Zimbabwe than at Khami, where a very small percentage of blocks produced from quarries were regular. Biotitic granite found around Great Zimbabwe is more homogenous, as it fractures along lines at right angles to the tabular plane, producing stone blocks that are more cuboidal in shape and thus required less knapping before their use in building stone walls (Whitty, 1959: 62; see Figure 6.4).

The stones produced at the quarries at Great Zimbabwe had roughly parallel upper and lower surfaces that were excellent for building monumental free-standing walls. At Khami, however, the granite is laminar in structure, and during the quarrying process, it fractures in random directions producing blocks that are rhomboid or lozenge shaped and far less suitable for building dry stone walls A quarrying experiment carried out with stone masons in the Khami area produced a large percentage of core stones which could not be used as face stones. Only 35 per cent of the stone from the quarry were usable as face stones, as the rest were too irregular and could only be used for R style walling.

The type of rock thus determined the quality of the construction and can also determine the type of building that could be constructed. Because of this, what has been found about the preservation of dry stone structures at Great Zimbabwe cannot have universal application. The fact that Khami was built with imperfect materials in a technique that incorporates the local environment and climate shows the building of this city had much more planning than Great Zimbabwe and other sites that had abundant materials to work with. Khami is therefore a unique site that requires conservation methods suited for its architecture and environment. Its conservation has, however, been based on experiences at Great Zimbabwe and elsewhere.

Figure 6.4 Irregular cracking on quarried granite boulders at Khami
Source: A. Sinamai

Robinson used cement and iron bars and subsequent conservators used their experiences with free-standing walls at Khami, which has retaining walls.

A major feature of the cultural landscape around Khami is, however, the Khami River. The name Khami is derived from the river which divided the ancient City of Khami into two distinct areas. Rising from the edges of the Matobo Cultural Landscape, the Khami River flows through gentle plains until it reaches the Khami ruins where it starts to cut deep gorges through the broken granite country. It flows in a north-westerly direction and later joins the Gwayi River, a tributary of the Zambezi River. The Khami World Heritage Site is along the area that is normally known as the Khami Gorge, which extends for about half a kilometre. It is this area that had large pools containing water all year round (Robinson, 1959: 357). Oral traditions report that water used to be plentiful (Robinson, 1959: 5), although nowadays the river hardly flows even during the rainy season because of the dams. Three dams have been built on the river and its tributaries to supply water to small farms as well as the City of Bulawayo.

The first was the 'Railway Dam' built in 1917 to supply water for the steam train engines. This was replaced by the bigger Khami Dam in 1929, which supplied water to the City of Bulawayo. The third was a small dam

built upriver by farmers. It was the second dam, however, that was to have serious effects on Khami. The project proposal for the dam mentioned effects of the dam on the cattle farms downriver, but failed to mention how the project affected the ruins (National Archives, Bulawayo, File BLG 93/359:12 Water Committee Correspondences). Four sites had been selected for the building of this dam and the 'Khami Ruins site' was chosen because of lower costs in terms of construction and in the transportation of the water to the city. During the construction of the dam, a section of Khami with 'minor ruins' was flooded and quarrying was carried out in areas within the archaeologically sensitive areas. Ancient quarries used during the construction of Khami, were also quarried during the construction of the dam.

The river was constricted by the dam and this changed the riverine environment forever. The riverine vegetation was lost as the river stopped flowing for months after the damming. Farmers downriver complained about their cattle not getting enough water because of the dam and some went to court to claim compensation over this. Some farmers also complained that the floodwaters that used to flood the plains and fertilise them with silt were not forthcoming, resulting in poorer grazing land (National Archives, Bulawayo, File BLG 93/359/12). The project also eliminated the reeds and riverine vegetation that had helped to reduce evaporation, resulting in the riverbed becoming dry for much of the year. Many farmers near Khami had huge herds of cattle and had to cut trees on their farms to improve grazing. Some of these cattle started to move into the Khami estate where there was more water and had better grazing lands, contributing to the degradation of the vegetation and the destabilisation of the stone walls (National Archives, Bulawayo, File BLG 3/359/1: 24). Documents of the Water Arbitration Court reported that one of the neighbouring farmers affected had over 600 cattle on his farm (National Archives, Bulawayo, File BLG 3/359/1: 29), a very large herd for this fragile environment.

Within Khami, vegetation was also trimmed to make the area suitable for tourists. New species of trees were introduced to the estate, either to beautify the landscape or to deal with a perceived problem. Eucalyptus trees were planted along the old course of the Khami River that was closed by damming, but had turned swampy as water continued to percolate under the earth dam. To reduce the water level eucalyptus was planted along this area decimating the indigenous vegetation. The planting of eucalyptus has resulted in the reduction of the water table, the environment of which is already very dry; thus, many indigenous trees along the old riverbed have died. Today in many areas, the indigenous vegetation has been strangled by *lantana camara* (Spanish Flag), an invasive plant species that stifles natural regeneration of native plants introduced to Zimbabwe as a hedge plant.

Robinson (1959: 5) blamed 'ruthless destruction of timber', 'increased trampling' by huge herds of cattle, 'mining of river beds' for reducing the flow of water in the Khami River for significantly changing the character of the river permanently. Robinson reports of 'old natives' who informed

him that 'water used to be much more plentiful' around Khami Ruins. He, however, did not regard the river as an important element of the archaeological landscape he was managing. The major effect, as already mentioned above was felt when the Khami Dam was built to supply the ever-expanding industrial hub of Southern Rhodesia. The dam was built at the beginning of a gorge that starts at the Precipice Ruin (a major feature of the Khami World Heritage Site). The foundations of the Precipice Ruin went underwater together with other minor ruins and burials in the area. The building of the dam altered a major feature of Khami – the island on which the Precipice Ruin was built on. This ruin ceased to be on an island and became easily accessible during the rainy season losing its reverence as an inaccessible retreat for sacred royal rituals. The building of the dam also saw the construction of the waterworks and housing for city council staff just across the Hill Complex on the other side of the river. These houses and infrastructure can be seen from the Hill Complex breaking the view which in all other direction is composed of kopjes with balancing rocks. The dam also marked the separation of ruins on the other side of the river with the main complex of Khami. The river and its catchment area were excised from the ruined city resulting in the whole area losing its value as a sacred landscape.

Further south, the city is developing into the headlands of Khami. Suburbs like Newton, Newton West, Nkulumane, Upper Rangemore, Emganwini West, Summerton and Bellevue have been built along tributaries of or near the source of the Khami River. Vegetation has disappeared along the bank, especially the reeds that kept the water in the riverbed. The city's masterplan now includes the area called Hyde Park, which is the area in which Khami is located. Hyde Park, which incorporates a number of farms and the Khami estate, has been earmarked for subdivision into smaller agricultural plots and high-density housing. It is expected that this development will exert even more pressure on the environment along the Khami River as well as on the World Heritage site.

The negative effects of these developments could be massive especially in a city where infrastructure is becoming worse. Still NMMZ does not have the urgency to consult with the city council over its development plans near Khami. Already, construction of city infrastructure like the Southern Areas Sewerage Treatment (SAST) plant near the dam has had much more damaging impact on the site of Khami. This sewerage plant, which is about a kilometre upriver from Khami, has never been completed due to the current economic crisis and has been overwhelmed by the expanding western suburbs. It now releases raw sewage into the Khami River, making the water unhealthy for humans, farm animals and marine life, and also exudes a strong stench that permanently covers the sites throughout the year. In the summer season, when the temperatures are high, this stench drives away visitors from the site. The city professes to have no solution to this problem, as it depends on how soon Zimbabwe can solve its political and economic problems. The City of Bulawayo had

been funded by the World Bank for expanding the SAST works in the late 1990s. With Zimbabwe becoming a pariah state after violent elections and the collapse of the economy in 2000, funding for this project was withdrawn and all hope to rectify this problem faded. Under current budgets, the city cannot fund this rehabilitation programme and sewerage will continue to be released into the Khami River.

Management culture within the NMMZ and the alienation of Khami

The disinheriting of Khami has also been made through the way that it has been managed from the time that the colonial government took over to the present. Various organisations have managed different components of the Khami landscape. Many of these organisations saw themselves as managing land (an economic resource) rather than heritage. As already mentioned in Chapter 3, it has been managed by a private organisation (the BSAC), a city council (Bulawayo) and heritage organisations (Historical Monuments Commission and later the National Museums and Monuments of Rhodesia/Zimbabwe), as well as individual landowners in the area.

Land around Khami gravitated from company land to individual ownership with title deeds and later to the state land because of the presence of archaeological sites. Throughout these processes, the original population that had lived near Khami was slowly dispossessed and relocated elsewhere. Each of these has left a mark on Khami: the BSAC ravaged the site through treasure hunting excavations; the Bulawayo City Council affected the environment by building a dam and waterworks, as well as by the environmental pollution of the river; while the Historical Monuments Commission and later NMMZ focused on tangible heritage at the expense of other parts of the natural and social environment even though these were just as significant as the built environment, like the Khami River itself. The management of this land was therefore under different organisations that had different values for the ruins in the land. For the Bulawayo City, the land was simply to be protected so that the city's water source would not be affected, whilst farmers were only interested in land as a valued asset. The Historical Monuments Commission on the other hand was interested in protecting the ruins in their areas as well as in private hands. When the Khami Dam ceased to be a water source for Bulawayo, the city council also stopped caring for the environment and the problems of pollution of the dam began.

The management culture of NMMZ is based on the premise that heritage places belong to the state, which preserves them on behalf of the citizens. Throughout its existence, NMMZ has never looked at heritage as something that could be owned by a specific community, since this would not only challenge the ownership of the heritage place but also mean that the rest of the citizens could not claim that heritage place as their own. Therefore, NMMZ is unsure about how to marry the needs of the government, which

requires a single narrative of unity, with the needs of 'other' groups that may contradict national ethos. For minority groups, this ownership structure de-ethnicises heritage places and locates them in the domain of the 'nation', which strives for a single identity. Often this means that Ndebele heritage, though not denied, becomes an appendage of a hegemonic Shona history on the Zimbabwe plateau (Long, 2000: 322).

When local communities try to create spaces in which they can celebrate their heritage differently, they are viewed as impediments to the proper preservation of heritage places. The legislations under which heritage has been preserved and presented does not allow for input from citizens. The terminology used within NMMZ has also played a part in hindering proper identification of landscape. It employs a site-based approach in which the natural and the cultural are separated for both research and management purposes. This concept treats cultural heritage as items in a natural environment (Brown, 2008: 3) and places less emphasis on the connection between people, environment and places. The terms 'monument' and 'site', which are derived from the legislation denote a single point in a landscape, whereas most of the heritage places of the Zimbabwe Culture that NMMZ manages are landscapes covering huge areas. Even when recording new heritage places it is expected that one records a single point to show the location of the site. This has led to a way of thinking where the concept of landscapes hardly exists within the heritage management system and a situation where NMMZ's heritage managers cannot recognise the different aspects of a landscape. The cultural landscape approach recognises the current state of the landscape, what it has gone through in time and the relationship that it has had from interaction with people from all historical periods (Brown, 2008). This approach would be the most suitable for NMMZ since it owns large tracts of land with a rich stock of heritage places and faces many claims from local communities.

The Khami World Heritage Site is managed through the Natural History Museum, which is 22 kilometres away. The museum has over 75,000 natural history collections, one of the largest collections in the southern hemisphere. It has six natural history departments (entomology, ichthyology, geology/palaeontology, mammalogy, ornithology and herpetology) and an archaeology department that is responsible for the management of Khami. Its highlights include one of the largest mounted elephants in the world. It is the local centre for NMMZ and manages the Western Region, which is comprised of the three Matabeleland provinces (Matabeleland North and South and the Bulawayo Province). As the only natural history museum within the NMMZ, it has responsibility to research on natural sciences throughout Zimbabwe. Locally it also has to manage all cultural heritage sites in these three provinces. Archaeology and heritage management is regarded as an extra burden to a museum that already does not get enough funding for its programmes and projects. There is therefore, a resentment of the presence of the archaeology department at the museum.

This resentment, which began at the time that The National Museum and the Historical Monuments Commission were amalgamated into NMMZ in 1972, has continued within the NMMZ. The Historical Monuments Commission was poor in terms of funding and work force and archaeology departments in the National Museum, which had only concentrated on research on archaeological collections, were now expected to also carry out conservation of archaeological and historical sites which they had no interest in. Throughout the 1970s, archaeology was not a highly regarded discipline and the natural sciences dominated the administration of the new organisation. This was, however, to change with the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980. A new nationalist ideology that sought to link cultural heritage to the new nation defined the course that the NMMZ would take.

The first cultural project of the government was bringing back the archaeological sculptures of soapstone birds that were found at Great Zimbabwe and taken to Cape Town, South Africa, which had the headquarters of the British South Africa Company when Zimbabwe was colonised. Six soapstone birds discovered at Great Zimbabwe had been bought by Cecil John Rhodes and five had ended up in the South African Museum in Cape Town, while the other was kept at Groot Schuur, the South African president's official residence. Negotiation for the return of these archaeological artefacts had started in 1979 under the Zimbabwe-Rhodesia transitional government. This government only lasted a year and was replaced by a nationalist government after the 1980 universal elections (Matenga, 2011: 194). The new government continued with the negotiations and a deal was struck: the five soapstone birds could be exchanged with a Hymenoptera collection (bees and ants) comprising of 1000 types and collected between 1911 and 1962. This collection was the pride of scientists at the Natural History Museum, being the most complete and the largest in the world. George Arnold, one of the most respected natural scientist in Africa and the world, had assembled this valued collection. This deal was unacceptable to many of natural scientists working at various museums in Zimbabwe and many of them resigned as a result (Matenga, 2011: 196). This has created an animosity between the disciplines and makes it difficult for those who manage Khami through the Natural History Museum. The fact that it also receives fewer visitors and thus generates little or no revenue makes it a burden for the Natural History Museum. For its geographical extent, Khami should have a sizeable infrastructure and personnel comparable to that of Great Zimbabwe, but being an appendage of the museum limits the work that can be done at the heritage place. Khami perhaps requires to be managed independent of the Natural History Museum with a separate budget and personnel if it is to be better preserved.

This event not only marked the ascendancy of archaeology within the museum system, but also caused intra-institutional resentment, in which archaeology is viewed as a pampered discipline that not only received undeserved attention from the central government but also a discipline that

had robbed the natural sciences one of the most comprehensive natural history collections in the world. Ever since the resignations of these natural scientists, every new head of the NMMZ has been an anthropologist/archaeologist, whereas before the natural scientists dominated the leadership of NMMZ. Attitudes at the Natural History Museum towards archaeology and heritage management therefore tends to be negative. Management of the Khami World Heritage site by the Natural History Museum is thus just a duty not a passion. One of the criticisms of archaeology is that it has unfairly risen to become the most important museum discipline within NMMZ, usurping the limelight that natural sciences enjoyed for years, through its parasitic relationship with politics in Zimbabwe.

There is also an assumption within the NMMZ that heritage places that receive less visitors experience less problems and that if a site receives less visitors there is little one can do to increase visitation rate to that site. In my interviews with several members of staff of the NMMZ, it was common to hear that Khami did not receive very many visitors and thus does not deserve huge investments in research, development and site interpretation. Great Zimbabwe was constantly referred to as a 'prime monument'. This was accompanied by the argument that there was no need 'to spread the meagre resources to other sites' when Great Zimbabwe was 'representative' of all the other sites of the Zimbabwe Culture. One member of staff in management informed me that 'development of sites is not part of our mandate [building hotels or lodges, etc.] – we expect private initiatives to assist in development of sites in their provinces' (interview, 2012). However, as Matero (2008: 3) argues, viable archaeological sites are 'made' and 'constructed' through time. Conservation approaches and techniques, as well as interpretation are an interface that mediate and transform archaeological sites into interesting heritage places. Khami has not been 'made' in the same way that Great Zimbabwe has and in its present conservation state, it may never attract a sizable visitorship. It may require NMMZ to interpret and conserve the site of Khami in a way that is culturally inclusive in order for it to be interesting to the local population and attractive to tourists. The current, tidy academic interpretations that suit the official narratives have failed to change the perceptions that people have about the heritage place.

The private sector, which drives tourism at most heritage sites in Zimbabwe, is attracted to sites that are not only accessible but are also well managed. Tour operators and potential investors have complained about ill-defined pathways, the lack of interpretive materials for the site, the small interpretive space and signage that is poor and uninformative (NMMZ Management Plan, 1999). The lack of development at the site and the pollution of the Khami River have thus been quoted as the major reasons for lack of private investment at Khami. The signage for instance, was put up in the 1960s when the museum was built and the displays in the museums have not been changed since 1964. Even the Chairman of the Board of NMMZ

admitted in 1998 that 'the museum is far too small … the site museum does not, at the moment adequately inform members of the public about the site' (speech by the Chairman of the Board of Trustees NMMZ, 11 March 1998, in Khami Archive, File 2). It is thus not surprising that the tour operators in the Bulawayo area have also removed Khami from their itineraries.

How places are developed, conserved and managed affects how they are perceived by the general population and tourists. The seriousness with which the government through the NMMZ treat Great Zimbabwe creates the perception that it is a valued site. The management culture within the NMMZ has removed Khami from the public sphere by identifying it as a site with little tourist potential. Its state of conservation conveys a picture of a heritage place that is neglected and therefore unimportant to the nation. This has affected how it is perceived by the City of Bulawayo too, which hardly sees its location close to the city as an advantage. Khami is not regarded as an asset to the City of Bulawayo, as it does not attract as many tourists as the Matobo Cultural Landscape does, for instance. The result is that Khami has a few stakeholders who voice their concerns about how it is managed. With the NMMZ depending largely on the government for funding for conservation of sites, it concentrates its efforts on heritage places that have vocal stakeholders. Sites like Great Zimbabwe that have vocal stakeholders, such as the government and the communities living near it, receive the bulk of the funding meant for national monuments.

Funding conservation at Khami

Funding in Zimbabwe reflects the politics of heritage and shows how heritage places that have little or no contribution to an authorised narrative template receive less attention from the state. Khami, which has not featured much in the national narrative and is viewed as less as an important asset that can attract tourists, has over many years received very little funding compared to other heritage sites like Great Zimbabwe and recently, Old Bulawayo. With no 'community' to pressurise government to manage it better, the site of Khami has faced a plethora of problems, which range from pollution, neglect, misinterpretation, shortage of critical staff, as well as remaining under-developed ever since it was declared a 'National Monument' in 1936.

As already mentioned, all cultural heritage sites in Zimbabwe are owned by the state and managed by the NMMZ. It therefore follows that the burden of financing management and conservation of heritage places falls on a government whose finances are most of the times stretched by other needs, including poverty, disease, education and development of infrastructure. Culture is frequently the last thing that the government prioritises in its budget and the NMMZ has always struggled to preserve and develop heritage places. The NMMZ receives a grant each year from government, which before 2000 was enough for operations as well as occasional inspections of monuments. The grant was usually 75 per cent of its total requirements

and the remaining 25 per cent was raised through tourism to heritage places and other donor funds. For years, the NMMZ has managed heritage, not as resources that generate income but as research and educational tools that shape minds through the curriculum as well as through leisure.

Funding of heritage has always depended on the fortunes of the country and Zimbabwe has not always been fortunate. As Rhodesia, it faced sanctions between 1965 and 1980 and as an independent Zimbabwe, between 1999 to the present, as punishment for human rights violations. Heritage has not been on top of the list in a country that for years was divided along racial lines and has deep social divisions. Up to 1934, the colony of Rhodesia did not have an organisation that managed monuments and other heritage places. Museums had been opened in Bulawayo and Harare by the 1920s but these were private museums created by societies and local associations.

The Natural History Museum was owned by the Chamber of Mines and the Queen Victoria Museum in Harare was established by an association interested in the history of Zimbabwe. These two museums did not have the capacity to manage cultural heritage sites. It was not until 1947, with the formation of the Historical Monuments Commission that a separate budget was created to cater for cultural heritage places.

The HMC was greatly constrained in terms of personnel, equipment and finance and concentrated on sites like Great Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls, which attracted huge numbers of tourists (McGregor, 2005: 324). Indeed, between 1936 (when it was formed) and 1972 (when it was merged with the National Museums), the HMC only had one archaeologist for the whole country, Keith Robinson. Khami's failure to attract the expected hordes of tourists has, throughout the colonial period, was used to reduce its funding and this has continued in the postcolonial Zimbabwe. In interviews carried out during my field research, it was expressed by the NMMZ staff several times that Khami's potential to attract tourists was not high and therefore resources could not be wasted on it when they cannot be recouped through tourism.

Khami has not been funded well from the time that it was managed by the HMC but the situation became worse after independence, as all funding was directed to the 'premier monument' Great Zimbabwe. From 1934 when the Historical Monuments Commission was formed, Great Zimbabwe had separate funding through a 'reserve fund' (The Zimbabwe Ruins Reserve Fund), which funded development and conservation at the site. This was over and above funds that were set aside for the day-to-day running of the site. Khami, which received very small amounts, had a separate fund until this was withdrawn in 1965, probably due to belt-tightening caused by sanctions after the Rhodesia unilaterally declared independence from Britain. Even then, the amount that was budgeted for this fund was miniscule. For example, in 1948 when Great Zimbabwe received £3020, Khami only received £73.13 for its conservation (HMC Annual Report, 1948). Generally, Khami received

less than five per cent of what Great Zimbabwe received for development and conservation over the years.

The picture does not change after independence, however, with Great Zimbabwe and other national heritage projects continuing to receive much more than Khami. In 1981, the government decided to create a fund that specifically targeted the problems that were experienced at Great Zimbabwe. The creation of the RPGZ fund saw development of a conservation centre and training of staff in the conservation of dry stone walls and the construction of tourist facilities. By 1990, Great Zimbabwe was the flagship site for NMMZ. This kind of funding was not extended to other sites like Khami. The funds allocated to the Khami World Heritage Site in this period was only 5.2 per cent of what Great Zimbabwe received over the same period, yet it was at this same time that the World Heritage Council was complaining about its state of conservation. Khami therefore remained largely undeveloped, with infrastructure that could only cope with limited number of tourists. Though a Khami Development Fund was also created in 1986 it always had inadequate funds for restoration and development. When the Khami Development Fund received its first allocation in 1988, it was only 12 per cent of what Great Zimbabwe had received that same year. Between 1988 and 1996, Great Zimbabwe received a total of ZW$4,379,676 compared to ZW$228,408 allocated to the Khami Development Fund. These funds do not include the salaries paid to staff working at these sites and were meant specifically for conservation. If these were to be included, the funds channelled to Great Zimbabwe would be much higher. Great Zimbabwe usually has a full complement of staff numbering over 75, with at least ten being archaeologists, surveyors and technicians. Khami on the other hand, only had four custodians with no training in archaeology or heritage management. It is only as recent as 1999 that an archaeologist has been specifically tasked with the conservation and management of Khami and even then, this arrangement was only for five years. Khami has not had a trained archaeologist in charge of conservation since 2004.

Visitor numbers have plummeted during the so-called 'lost decade' in which Zimbabwe plunged into a political and economic abyss. Whereas Great Zimbabwe was receiving over 120,000 visitors per year in 1996/7, by 2008 the numbers had fallen below 16,000 visitors. From 8944 visitors in 1997, Khami was receiving even less: 200 visitors in 2008 (Khami Archive, File 2). Much of this decline at Khami was of course due to the political and economic problems that the country was facing, but other contributors included the pollution in the Khami River, as well as the underdeveloped infrastructure. With changes in the economic fortune of Zimbabwe after the coalition government was created, visitor numbers to Great Zimbabwe have started to increase, with over 34,000 tourists visiting the site in 2011. At Khami, however, the numbers are still declining showing that the slump may be due to other factors other than Zimbabwe's economic and political collapse.

Site interpretation as alienation at Khami

The Ename Charter defines interpretation as 'a full range of potential activities intended to heighten public awareness and enhancing the understanding of a cultural heritage site' (ICOMOS ICIP 2007: 3). This, of course, requires interpretive infrastructure that allows for easy access to information to and from different publics. In Zimbabwe, interpretation of heritage places is the preserve of archaeologists. Interpretation of heritage places rarely includes the alternative histories and local traditions and usually emphasises 'book knowledge'. Presentation of heritage places reflects archaeologist concerns and interest, with the result that most visitors struggle to understand the sites and their landscapes. In some cases, it is difficult even to see the connection between the heritage place and the people living near it.

At Khami, the displays mention 'ancestral Shona' and Rozvi but do not even attempt to connect populations to these groups in Matabeleland or to the heritage place. The Kalanga, Nambya and Venda all have ancestral connections to Zimbabwe Culture sites but are hardly mentioned in the interpretive narratives of the site museum at Khami. The displays in the site museum were put up by Robinson in 1964 and interpret Khami based on the period in which it was occupied and mainly discuss the archaeology of the place with little mention of contemporary communities and people. This interpretation ignores the layers of history that the landscape accumulated before its occupation and after its abandonment and fails to connect people to place. Again, this shows that the site is misunderstood by the region and fallen out of the identity narratives of the people whose ancestors may have contributed to the 'historical and cultural significance' of Khami. This form of presentation not only results in the alienation of the heritage place, but also goes against Principle 3.3 of the Ename Charter (ICOMOS ICIP 2007: 3), which declares that 'interpretation should also take into account all the groups that have contributed to the historical and cultural significance of the site.'

Zimbabwe is not a country where citizens have easy access to information generated by government. Most government organisations have no obligation to provide that information to the public. Organisations like NMMZ are only accountable to the central government and cannot be questioned by the general public and therefore, feel that they do not need to consult the public when they interpret sites. By refusing the public an opportunity to contribute, the NMMZ fails to understand how people make sense of the past and emphasises more on the cognitive experience over the emotional experience in creating interpretive tools. The displays in the Khami museum for example, are academic, showing archaeological layers and artefacts outside of the cultural layers that created the Matabeleland and the Ndebele identity. Interpretations of heritage sites like Khami have ignored the 'human agency' (Fairclough, 2008: 414) that has played a role in all the changes that it has gone through, from the time the city was constructed to the present and as a result, Khami is a 'site' and not a 'landscape'.

In the displays, archaeological cultures are defined by archaeologists, representing peoples from the past and not the present. There is no mention of the different groups that may have contributed to the creation of the Khami landscape and this is a result of not recognising what the Ename Charter calls the 'cross-cultural significance of the heritage sites.' The NMMZ's 'one-size-fits-all' approach of interpretation fails to recognise the different communities that may have ancestral and other connections with the Khami World Heritage Site.

Interpretation of sites in Zimbabwe has to recognise that the 'resonance of events' and identities change over time and can result in the separation of people from the key historical events and other related groups (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 2008: 504). Khami cannot be interpreted as 'Shona', it does not consider how identities of the Kalanga and Nambya groups, who are part of this 'Shona' language cluster and have ancestral connections to Zimbabwe Culture sites, have changed over time. The Kalanga and the Nambya now view themselves as 'minorities' in modern Zimbabwe despite their connection, with the now dominant 'Shona' people and the heritage represented by Khami. Recognising these new identities can assist in creating new interpretations of history that 'takes account of all groups that have contributed to the historical and cultural significance' (Ename Charter, Principle 3) of the Khami World Heritage site. The Ename Charter highlights some of the requirements for interpretation of heritage place and landscapes which the NMMZ could adopt for its own site exhibitions. A review of the displays in the site museums at Khami shows the inadequacy of the interpretation of the site. It highlights archaeological research carried out at the site and list periods of occupation from the Stone Age to the Late Iron Age, but hardly mentions the people who created that heritage that is described. It also stops at the time that the site was abandoned and treats the landscape as if it was not used after Khami's abandonment, yet archaeological evidence and oral traditions show its continued use up to the 1940s.

As the Ename Charter (Ename Charter, Principle 3) highlights, the site displays within museums under the flagship of NMMZ do not

a) 'clearly distinguish and date the successive phases and influences in its (landscape's) evolution,'
b) take into account the 'surrounding landscape, natural environment, and geographical setting' as 'integral parts of a site's historical and cultural significance,'
c) respect 'the cross-cultural significance of heritage sites' and the 'site's heritage such as cultural and spiritual traditions stories'.

At Khami, 'archaeological phases' and pottery seem to dominate interpretations, as people are represented as pottery traditions and abstract archaeological cultures (e.g., Leopard's Kopje Tradition, Khami Phase). The landscape is not defined and many of the culturally significant places at

the site are not even mentioned. The cultural biography of Khami is therefore lost, as interpretation does not include contemporary societies and their interaction with that environment. For example, it would almost be a taboo for NMMZ to mention the Ndebele interaction with Khami yet their association with the site has left a biographical layer that could contribute to its interpretation as well.

Conclusion

The silencing of Khami in the national consciousness was primarily a political process that soon began after its ransacking by the Rozvi in the 1690s. These processes required active forgetting of the landscape as a way of legitimising present power. A combination of factors has therefore contributed to the un-inheriting of the Khami landscape. The consequences of this is the abbreviation of a sacred cultural landscape to just stone walls. Shifts in the composition of the population, the re-crafting of identities, the changes made to the cultural landscape and the formation of a new post-colonial national narrative that required a single story have all affected how people perceive the site of Khami. This has also influenced how the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe funds, conserves and interprets the heritage place. With no pressure from a 'local community' or stakeholders, the NMMZ is not under any pressure to change the way that it manages the site. Because it has remained underdeveloped, it has failed to attract tourists and is therefore not regarded as an asset by the City of Bulawayo, which is the closest planning authority to Khami and the NMMZ, which owns it.

From pre-colonial times, efforts were made for Khami to be forgotten, as it was a place that could become an icon of deposed dynasties and states. The Ndebele may have made an effort to supress the recognition of the heritage place, as it was a threat to their legitimacy. This may explain why King Lobengula placed guards there in the 1890s. The colonial government on the other hand, further distanced the heritage place through land and heritage legislations that separated people from land and sacred environments. The Khami River, an important aspect of that sacred environment, was affected by development, with a dam and water purification plant being built within the boundaries of the ancient city. Alongside the changes in identity of populations in Matabeleland (and also the whole country due to colonial legislations and policies), the changes in the natural environment that transformed the landscape created a dismembered landscape that people found difficult to connect to. As a result it is ignored as a resource in the creation of new postcolonial or counter-postcolonial narratives. Its silence in the national story has also meant that NMMZ feels no pressure to fund conservation, interpretation development and research of the heritage place.

These factors described in this chapters erased the 'social life of the ruin' (McGregor, 2005) and reduced it to a lifeless heritage place that does not have a community that draws an identity narrative resource from it.

Khami acquired a new social life of silence, in which it is recognised as a National Monument and a World Heritage Site only for the architectural achievements that it represents. Whereas Great Zimbabwe evolved with time from a scared landscape to become an icon of both the Rhodesian colonial state and the postcolonial state of Zimbabwe, Khami remained an archaeological site in the traditional sense – a dead landscape that provides information about Zimbabwe's past, but has no current social use in the present. In postcolonial Zimbabwe, it is not a resource for the story of the nation and therefore attracts less attention from the state than sites like Great Zimbabwe, Old Bulawayo, Matobo and the Heroes' Acres that celebrate the liberation of the nation from colonialism or dominant regional identities. Politics has determined how Khami is remembered, and it is political processes that have played a major part in the relegation of Khami to obscurity. The result is that Khami is not a site of memory, as shown by the indifference of the various stakeholders ranging from the state, to the local authorities and communities living near it. It is not fundamental to community formation or nation building and fails to solidify group identity even for those with an ancestral link to it. As a result, the NMMZ also experiences no political or social pressure to preserve and develop it.

In the next chapter, I will contrast this situation with that of Mapungubwe in South Africa. Mapungubwe rose from a relegated, silenced landscape during apartheid, to a World Heritage Cultural Landscape that the nation celebrates, despite the fact that the descendant communities of this heritage place are a minority in South Africa, or may be living elsewhere on the African continent. Mapungubwe seems to have gone through similar experiences as Khami, but has emerged from this oblivion to become a heritage landscape that has fed the post-apartheid South African narratives of identity.

7 Cultural negotiation and creation of a shared narrative at Mapungubwe

Introduction

In the redesigning of the spatial dimensions of a new South Africa, a nation divided by race and ethnic origin, a new national memory was required. South Africa was divided into white and black, and further into 'Bantustans' 'nations' within South Africa based ethnic origin. To build a diverse but united South Africa, a new 'geography of national memory' had to be created (Azaryahu & Kellerman-Barrett 1999). Mapungubwe, an ancient state whose history the apartheid government had supressed, became the focus of a revival and reinvention of national memory. In the adoption of Mapungubwe, the new government of South Africa required to use both the spatial (the physical site) and the temporal (cultural manifestation of memory-narratives, rituals of identity, performance) dimensions of memory. This chapter discusses how perceptions of heritage change when a nation deliberately changes the narratives in recognition of its diversity.

South Africa transformed from a conservative apartheid state to a 'rainbow nation' through an inclusive constitution that deliberately incorporated the heritage of the 'other'. Mapungubwe is in the far north of the Limpopo Province close to the border with Zimbabwe. Culturally, it belongs to the proto-Zimbabwe tradition and is therefore associated more with the Karanga/Kalanga complex state systems on the Zimbabwe plateau. The Venda, whose royal families were migrants exiled from these northern states in the seventeenth century, claim connections to this cultural landscape.

In a nation dominated by the Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho South Africa, chose the heritage of the minority to create its national narratives. It's motto in the San minority language:*!Ke e: /Xarra //Ke* (Diverse People Unite), sums up its cultural policy. South Africa under apartheid had been administered through various ethnic and racial entities established by legislations that aimed at keeping different races and ethnic groups apart. Apartheid South Africa divided the country into 'Bantustans' (reserved areas for different African groups), which were strictly administered through trusted trad-itional leaders. The resulting pattern was reinforcement and isolation of

various group identities that had to be brought together in a new South Africa. The new constitution of South Africa therefore needed to 'heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values social justice and fundamental human rights' (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996: Preamble).

In contrast, Zimbabwe's motto is 'Unity, Freedom, Work' and the state has focused in creating a homogenous state with a single narrative. With a history dominated by the Zimbabwe Culture of the Karanga/Kalanga dynasties, the state promoted a simple narrative that could be claimed by over 80 per cent of the population. New commemorative designations saw names of government buildings changed: the building housing the office of the president became the Munhumutapa Building (after the historical kings of northern Zimbabwe), other government buildings had names changed to Kaguvi, Mashayamombe, Chaminuka and Mkwati all of whom were Shona heroes of the First *Chimurenga*. The cultural borders created by such memorialisation are difficult to cross. The Ndebele and Kalanga people who now see themselves as Ndebele and other minorities, see this dominance of a single Shona narrative as exclusion from the history of the nation. Territory is central to memory (Azaryahu & Kellerman 1999) and the exclusion of geographical memory from other parts of Zimbabwe has forced other groups to create counter-memories based on real and perceived identities. The single narrative is also reflected on the coat-of-arms, which has Great Zimbabwe in the centre. The policy in Zimbabwe emphasises the archaic idea that a nation must share cultural beliefs and experiences from the past (Harrison, 2010: 169). The result of that policy is the unitary narrative that requires discarding of minority heritage and an over-emphasising of the heritage of the majority.

South Africa has also recognised that communities need to identify what is important to them and therefore allows communities to identify and own cultural heritage places. Zimbabwe, on the other hand, limits the rights of communities to question how the state manages, utilises and interprets heritage places. In Zimbabwe, like in most former British colonies, the state owns heritage places 'on behalf of the people' and as a representative of people's wishes, manages the heritage on behalf of the people regardless of how those people may have different interests and ideas to those of the state (Kreutzer, 2006: 58). In reality, however, the nation is composed of competing identities that cannot be expressed through a single narrative. The new constitution of Zimbabwe gazetted in May 2013, seems to recognise the nation's diversity and it is hoped that cultural organisations will also democratise and allow multiple voices to be expressed through the national narrative. It recognises the 'nation's diverse cultural, religious and traditional values' and also compels 'agencies of government at every level … to preserve and protect Zimbabwe's heritage' (Republic of Zimbabwe, 2013). Five years after the constitution was gazetted, NMMZ has not changed its legislation to suit the this new constitution.

Mapungubwe's rise from peripheral heritage to the centre of national celebrations serves to show how forgotten places can be revived with new myths suited for current dispensations. Political change does not only result in changes in the political terrain, it also transforms some cultural heritage places into *ersatz* markers that narratives are based on. This South African comparison serves to present a case study that shows how government influence determines what is and what is not preserved. As Mapungubwe was being elevated, there were other colonial sites of memory like the Voortrekker Monument (celebrating Dutch/Afrikaner heritage) that were being relegated to provincial sites. Later as governments changed in South Africa, culture has also become a victim of 'development', as will be shown in this chapter. This shows how narratives adopted by the state can have both positive and negative impacts on how heritage places are selected for preservation.

The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

Mapungubwe provides an excellent comparison for the Khami World Heritage Site: it is much older and therefore more likely to be forgotten in the collective memory of the ancestral descendants. It is also a landscape that was dismembered through partitioning of communal land into private farms and later into a national park. This landscape been depopulated and archaeological evidence from it deliberately suppressed by an apartheid South African government, through the notoriously conservative University of Pretoria (Pikirayi, 2012). In the 1990s, however, it became the premier resource for narratives of the new post-apartheid nation. Recently this landscape has also been under pressure from mining by an Australian coal mining company, Coal of Africa Limited (CoAL) (van de Merwe, 2009). Its evolution throughout these phases shows that heritage sites cannot be fossilised, nor can one story be used in interpreting it.

In the face of all these past and present developments, Mapungubwe has not been un-inherited by the stakeholder communities like Khami has. In its journey to prominence, it has acquired vocal stakeholders who include local communities, the state and regional government, ex-soldiers who used the landscape for training and border monitoring duties, environmentalists, as well as academics. It has a prominent place within the post-apartheid nation and has attracted huge investments from the local provincial government and private business. It is revered by the local communities who have successfully demanded for the reburial of all human remains found at the Mapungubwe Hill. Mapungubwe is also protected by other national interest groups and environmentalist organisations like South Africa National Parks and BirdLife South Africa. How then does Mapungubwe, an ancient and culturally distant heritage place, retain its 'community' in a highly multicultural nation like South Africa? How does Khami, a much more recent site than Mapungubwe, fade from the collective memory of local populations of western Zimbabwe and Zimbabwe at large? Why do the environmental

problems at Khami not attract the same attention from various communities like at Mapungubwe?

As already mentioned, Mapungubwe, similar to Khami, is a World Heritage property. Though it has been identified as a landscape, its name originates from a small hill close to the border with Zimbabwe from which cultural remains of a tenth century royal town were discovered. Archaeologically, this marks the beginning of the Zimbabwe Culture in southern Africa. There are several other ancient settlements linked to Mapungubwe on both sides of the border, as well as in Botswana. This landscape has been a theatre for contestations of national history in South Africa for a very long time. In the early years of the Union of South Africa, interest in research into the country's history was encouraged and supported by Jan Smuts, a liberal leader of South Africa until 1948. In 1948, however, a radical Afrikaner political party took over the government and enacted apartheid laws until 1961, when the country was declared a republic. One of the tenets of apartheid was 'separate development' taken in consideration that Africans were inferior to Europeans and therefore required a slower pace of development in their own environments.

It also required the suppression of any history that would have shown that Africans had any form of civilisation. Mapungubwe thus remained unknown to most South Africans. The communities who had lived in the area and revered the site (the Venda) began to develop identity narratives around the later Zimbabwe Culture site of Dzata (Sinamai, 2003). As a result of this, Mapungubwe deteriorated as the landscape was left to mining companies and farmers. By the time that it was nominated to the World Heritage List, Mapungubwe had deteriorated significantly. The most significant sites like Schroda, Mapungubwe Hill and Leokwe Hill had excavation trenches that had not been backfilled and were experiencing erosion, with a gulley forming at the base of Mapungubwe Hill, eroding archaeologically sensitive areas. The few visitors who could reach it had unlimited access to these sensitive archaeological sites, causing even more conservation problems, including pilfering of artefacts from the various sites in the landscape (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2003). Vehicular traffic had also disturbed archaeological deposits. The stone walls and terraces at Mapungubwe had deteriorated and collapsed and remained unmapped. Research funding had dried up and results of the research already carried out had never been published. Reminiscent of Khami, there was no manpower to manage and conserve these heritage places (Department of Environmental Affairs, 2003).

The social life of Mapungubwe in post-apartheid South Africa

With the democratisation of South Africa in 1994, however, a new dispensation emerged in which African identities were re-inscribed onto landscapes that had been declared white through rezoning into farms and

national parks. Post-apartheid South Africa required the re-articulation of black South African voices and Mapungubwe emerged as a potent symbol for a pre-colonial achievement (Schoemann & Pikirayi 2011: 390). South Africa, with a history of warriors and wars, wanted to project a prehistory that appears more peaceful and intellectual, befitting a nation that is not only the hope of Africa, but at peace with the world after years of isolation. School books for the first time presented the African past without the constraints of the so-called Christian National Education of the previous apartheid governments, which claimed that Africans were, like the Dutch-Afrikaners, recent arrivals in South Africa (King, 2011: 313). A new South Africa also required a new foreign policy in Africa and the world, and this required breaking the mentality that South Africans previously had; of being in Africa but not belonging to it. The African Renaissance as propounded by President Thabo Mbeki (a president who had spent much of his life in exile in African countries), was a way to reach out to the rest of Africa. This concept was based on the theory that the celebration of African ingenuity and exploitation of African knowledge systems can lead to the rejuvenation of cultures, societies and ultimately, economies (Schoemann & Pikirayi, 2011: 391). Mapungubwe had its 'naissance' in which it became the progenitor of the Zimbabwe Civilisation and its renaissance was the creation of a new emerging nation of South Africa after shedding an image of racial abuse and unequal development (King, 2011). It is through the effort of the 'African Renaissance' project that Mapungubwe was identified as a good candidate for World Heritage nomination.

The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2003. With a core area of about 30,000 hectares and a buffer zone of 100,000 hectares, it is one of the largest World Heritage properties in Africa. It was nominated by South Africa as part of a much larger post-apartheid project of cultural production. In 1998, the then Vice President Thabo Mbeki made a speech in which he articulated the rejuvenation of Africa through a re-examination of its the past achievements. This required identifying 'Africa's golden age' and projecting it to the fore without the boundaries created by colonial powers.

> The beginning of our rebirth as a Continent must be our own rediscovery of our soul, captured and made permanently available in the great works of creativity represented by the pyramids and sphinxes of Egypt, the stone buildings of Axum and the ruins of Carthage and Zimbabwe, the rock paintings of the San, the Benin bronzes and the African masks, the carvings of the Makonde and the stone sculptures of the Shona.
>
> (Mbeki, 1998).

It was also a project that wanted to project South Africa as an African leader worthy of global respect (Carruthers, 2006: 4) at a time when the UN was

deliberating on changing the Security Council to include other prominent countries from continents that felt excluded. This process was accompanied by new state rituals that were meant to not only connect it to 'the earliest civilisation in southern Africa' (Carruthers, 2017) but also would show the technological advances of Africans in prehistory. A new national award, 'The Order of Mapungubwe' was created to recognise 'excellence in science and technology' and to symbolise the importance attached to Mapungubwe by the state. However, the state is not the only entity using the past to promote national agendas. The Limpopo Provincial Government, in which the heritage landscape is located, refers to itself as 'the home of civilisation' and has created a Mapungubwe Festival in Polokwane (formerly Petersburg), the provincial capital, to attract tourists and raise the profile of the province in South Africa (Carruthers, 2017: 4).

Even though no community can claim an organic connection to Mapungubwe, the site is not alien to them and various groups and entities are contesting ownership of this site and the cultural landscape. Though it is a much older site than Khami with hardly any oral traditions connecting any community to the archaeological remains, there has been lobbying by local communities for the return of artefacts and human remains excavated from Mapungubwe Hill. This lobbying by the Venda, Ngona and Lemba has forced the University of Pretoria (a doyen of Afrikanerdom) to return and rebury 143 skeletons that were excavated by archaeologists in the 1930s (Schoeman & Pikirayi, 2011). Like Khami, the site had ceased to have spiritual connections with any group after local populations were moved to create cattle ranches and fruit farms in the 1930s. A number of groups have, however, emerged to claim ancestral connections to the landscape and most of them have tried to use archaeological evidence in land claims. These groups also view Mapungubwe as a future tourism area of the Limpopo Province, and see future benefits for their communities who are experiencing extreme poverty due to selective apartheid policies. In many ways, Mapungubwe started to acquire a new social (and political) life that it had never had in apartheid South Africa. To acquire this new life, its cultural biography had to be re-opened and re-written so that its social and political history suits the new narratives of the state. The interest of the state also revived an interest from various communities, most of whom had no known ancestral connection with this tenth century site.

Most of these local communities have laid land claims so that they are not left out in the sharing of revenue from tourism to the cultural landscape. The Limpopo Province, like Matabeleland, is largely occupied by various minority groups (collectively known as Venda) in a South Africa that emphasizes Nguni identities of the Xhosa and Zulu. Amongst the Venda themselves, there are many competing identities as shown by the different claims on Mapungubwe by sub-groups like the Lemba, Sotho, Venda (Singo dynasties) and the Ngona who claim to be the original occupiers of the area (Eloundou & Avango, 2012: 33). The province has historically seen

movements of people from both the south and north and these movements resulted in continuous shifts in identity and rehashing of histories. Similar to Khami, colonial occupation also resulted in the movement of people from heritage places. Colonial occupation also saw the desecration of the site through excavations, as well as developments like mining and farming within the landscape. Despite this, the Limpopo Provincial government has made efforts to preserve the archaeological remains and the environment, as well as market the landscape to the rest of South Africa and the world in an effort to attract tourism revenue to the area.

This heritage landscape is thus, unlike Khami, not un-inherited by the national government, the local authorities or local communities, even though its history is distant and connections inanimate. The attachment that the Venda, Lemba, Ngona and Sotho have on Mapungubwe is stretched: it is a town that was built in the tenth century and oral traditions have obviously been lost. After its abandonment, the population moved north into Zimbabwe to build Great Zimbabwe and other related sites. The Venda and Lemba are a result of new waves of migration from the Zimbabwe plateau in the seventeenth century and Mapungubwe is hardly a part of their collective memory. Many Nguni groups also passed through this area in the nineteenth century and caused further movement of populations. By the 1940s, most communities who had lived near Mapungubwe Hill were forcibly moved out and had very few recollections about the site though they identified it as a sacred site. In the 1970s and 1980s, the Venda celebrated their cultural achievements at Dzata and never mentioned Mapungubwe as one of their sacred landscapes (Sinamai, 2003). In post-apartheid South Africa, however, Mapungubwe has become a landscape of contestations against government policies that seem insensitive to the cultural needs of Venda communities and organisations. It has also been inherited by various other social and professional groups with no cultural links to this environment.

Recent threat in the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

Recent incidents have shown how valued Mapungubwe is not only by the local community but by other groups within South Africa. In 2010 CoAL, a company based in Australia, was given rights to mine in the buffer zone east of the Mapungubwe Hill. Besides Vele Mine operated by CoAL (which is only seven kilometres from Mapungubwe Hill, the main heritage site), there are also 20 prospecting licenses for coal, diamonds and gas, which have been granted to other companies (Eloundou & Avango, 2012: 33). These developments within the buffer zone of a World Heritage property seems to have created a conflict between the government and the mining company on one hand and communities, tourism companies, archaeologists and environmentalists on the other, over the projected environmental impacts of coal mining near the heritage property.

Environmentalists argue that the fragile environment would be affected and that the government has failed to recognise the sensitiveness of the wider Mapungubwe area to mining development. The heritage impact survey carried out for Vele Mine only focused on individual sites within the landscape and thus fails to recognise that Mapungubwe's values can only be protected when it is considered as a landscape. The mine is located within an area earmarked by a huge trans-frontier park with Zimbabwe and Botswana (Turner, 2012: 18) and could jeopardise this project, which had been supported by the Southern African Development as one of its 'Peace Parks'.

The mining permit was issued against the advice of the South African Department of Environmental Affairs (Turner, 2012: 18) on the basis that the economic benefits as defined by the current South African government outweigh the benefits of heritage. The project is said to contribute R2.1 billion during the construction phase and R9.7 billion when operational to benefit about 40,000 people in the Limpopo Province (CoAL, 2010: 21, quoted in Meskell, 2011).

With that kind of investment, the mining industry, has unleashed a campaign through the mining media to undervalue the significance of Mapungubwe and the sense of pride that has developed around it since 1994 (Esterhuysen, 2009: 1–2). Esterhuysen quotes an article in one of the mining magazines linked to the South African Chamber of Mines:

> [D]espite being claimed by a number of different 'tribes' [Mapungubwe] is of little importance to current tribes and cultures and has limited scientific potential. Indeed dry and dusty historians and archaeologists have all packed up and left after publishing their somewhat boring reports ... foreigners are unlikely to be impressed by a few hastily made grave goods, ... modest royal huts and views of crumbling sandstones.
>
> (Esterhuysen, 2009: 2 quoting Furter, 2009: 11)

The Zuma-led government was more focused on economic development by any means and the fortunes of Mapungubwe seem to be again changing for the worse. The government's collusion with the mining industry against cultural heritage has, however, met with resistance from various organisations, ranging from local communities, tour operators, environmentalists archaeologists, academics and human right lawyers—something that can hardly be contemplated at Khami which has had serious environmental problems caused by Bulawayo's expansion. This 'coalition of citizens', which would not have existed prior to 1994, reflects how far Mapungubwe has again been inherited as a local and national heritage place through the construction of a new state narrative that declared South Africa a progeny of the ancient state of Mapungubwe. However, after President Thabo Mbeki retired from the presidency in 2008, the new government that followed him was less inclined to value cultural assets or weigh development against cultural loss and environmental degradation (Meskell, 2011: 2).

By that time, the previous government had made Mapungubwe a national symbol and treasure, and this was, in a short time, etched in the collective memory of a new South Africa. This status has become its protection, as archaeologists who see the academic value of the landscape, environmentalists who treasure the fauna and flora in the landscape, and communities who see it as sacred and are expecting economic benefits, fought the government over the mining licences within the buffer zone of the World Heritage Cultural Landscape. The fallout from this contestation reached UNESCO, which has also added its weight against mining in this environment. The WHC sent a mission to report on the state of conservation of and threats to Mapungubwe and has criticised South Africa in how it has handled the management of the cultural landscape. It noted that there had been very little consultations between the mining company and the local communities who had traditional claims over the land in which the mine was to be located and that the Mapungubwe Management Plan should have been revised to suit the new contexts in which it found itself. The WHC was also concerned about the issuing of mining licences in the Cultural Landscape's buffer zone.

The South African case has shown that it is possible for local organisations and communities to use the WHC mechanism to pressurise the State Party to adhere to its own laws on heritage and environmental management. The company that owns the mine has had to demonstrate their will to protect not only the natural environment but cultural heritage as well. In 2010, CoAL employed an archaeologist and palaeontologist and set aside R1 million for heritage protection and mitigation of the mine's impact every year. It also tried to engage in heritage education and community participation (Meskell, 2011: 6). However, this was not enough for interest groups protecting Mapungubwe. In 2017, the Coal of Africa was forced to sign an agreement with environmental groups, ensuring the protection of the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape. In this agreement, which guaranteed the protection of both living and material heritage, Coal of Africa was forced to show its future mining areas, and to identify all culturally sensitive areas in the landscape. The mining company maintains a committee to monitor the environment and the cultural resources and any breach would be immediately penalised (African Mining Brief, 2017).

The inheriting of Mapungubwe by cultural and environmental groups has not only given it a community but has also forced international organisations to intervene and lobby the South African government against the mining project. This seems to echo the NMMZ executive director's statements on Khami that if a heritage place has no community then there is no pressure to preserve it.

How then does this cultural landscape, which is not directly connected to any living societies, conjure such emotions when it is threatened by development? How can it be a contested landscape claimed by communities that have little or no ancestral connection to it when Khami, from a much later

period, is discarded by communities that can trace connection to it? How does a heritage place become a place of interest for local communities after so many years of dormancy? Furthermore, how do heritage places become accepted national symbols in a multi-cultural society through deliberate promotion and use by the state and local communities? Answering these questions may assist in demonstrating how Khami could be managed and interpreted in a multi-cultural and more democratic Zimbabwe. When interpretation is inclusive, a heritage place attracts various stakeholders, forcing the government to see its preservation as an obligation rather than a burden. Mapungubwe, a heritage place that was completely absent in the apartheid South African narrative, has been propelled to the forefront of national culture within a period of less than 20 years. Not only does this demonstrate the fact that heritage places are not protected by conservators, it also indicates that if a heritage place is a part of a collective memory of a group of people or nation, it will be protected even when the government is against its protection. Khami experiences problems of environmental pollution and negligence not only because the Government of Zimbabwe gets little mileage from it, but because it is unclaimed by communities and different interest groups. This comparison also demonstrates how disinherited heritage places can be deliberately elevated again and define nations despite the mismanagement and deterioration that they may have faced in the past. This should inform heritage managers to the fact that when a site is un-inherited, it still needs to be conserved with the same dedication that 'inherited' sites are conserved. Khami may turn out later to be a very important resource for local and national narratives.

Heritage sites reflect the 'changing conception of nation' through how they are preserved. In periods of distress or euphoria, heritage places may be chosen, venerated or disowned and disavowed (Forest & Johnson, 2002: 23). For a number of years after its 're-discovery', Mapungubwe was disowned and silenced, with its fortunes only changing after a new government – longing to become a part of Africa and creating a multicultural state ('the Rainbow Nation') – adopted it as the progenitor of modern South Africa. Yet this has changed again: a government keen to improve the social and economic standards views the cultural landscape as a resource that could improve the lives of thousands. The contestations that have arisen show how the involvement of communities can later protect heritage places from developments that could affect it negatively.

Heritage places in Zimbabwe reflect this as well; the euphoria of independence meant that Zimbabwe culture sites were made prominent and were nominated to the World Heritage List. With time, Khami was discarded and only Great Zimbabwe was valued and received enough attention. With the civil war of the 1980, the Ndebele also wanted to articulate their identity and clung to those things that were undoubtedly Ndebele. Khami, being a city of a state that existed before the arrival of the Ndebele, was disinherited in the process. When the economy of Zimbabwe collapsed after 2000, even

Great Zimbabwe lost its lustre with some frustrated citizens calling it 'just a heap of stones' after the abuse of the heritage place for political benefits and the lack of tourists that had fed into the local economy. The changing conception of nation is therefore accompanied by adopting new heritage, discarding the old and awkward that does not play a part in contemporary identities.

Conclusions: heritage in multi-cultural societies: cultural negotiation and creation of a shared narrative

From the preceding chapters, it is clear that Khami has been disinherited at both the local and national levels. Zimbabwe's Lancaster House Constitution, a hastily prepared constitution that was meant to be transitory, did not have national objectives and does not mention heritage anywhere. The writing of the national story was therefore, left to the prominent voices of the Shona majority. The new constitution, however, recognises the rights of people to heritage and this may change the way that NMMZ manages heritage places under its care. Currently, Khami is not compatible with the national narrative template of unity represented by Great Zimbabwe. It is therefore excluded in the narrative built to connect the present to a glorious united past. Locally, Khami fails to inspire local narratives and hardly feeds into Ndebele, Kalanga or Venda identities.

The consequence has been the un-inheriting of Khami, which is marked by its absence in the national mindscape and in public history, as well as its neglect in terms of conservation. This disinheriting has affected how Khami has been managed in both the colonial and postcolonial period. Whereas Great Zimbabwe has had comprehensive conservation programmes and adequate funding from colonial times, Khami has been neglected and has struggled to raise as much funding for its conservation and development. In postcolonial Zimbabwe, Great Zimbabwe has received most of its funding from the government, Khami on the other hand has been sustained by donor funding or the general funding allocated to NMMZ's Western Region through the Natural History Museum. As a result, Great Zimbabwe has a comprehensive management and conservation programme that collects information on every stone wall within the heritage place, monitoring movements of less than a millimetre and collecting behavioural details through mapping and photography. This kind of detailed monitoring has never been made available to Khami, though it seems to experience more conservation problems. Great Zimbabwe's social life is also vibrant with various groups claiming ownership and the government under pressure from the public to conserve it.

Both these sites are World Heritage properties but their similarities end there. Khami has experienced management, conservation and environmental problems that attracted the attention of the WHC as well as the Monuments Watch, but these problems have hardly invited comment from local people or the state. There are several reasons for a heritage place to experience these

problems and not have a response from perceived 'stakeholders'. Khami is not part of the collective memory of people living near it nor does it contribute to the preferred national narrative of the state. This book argued that its management and interpretation over the years has contributed to site's loss as a social resource, but other external factors hinging on national and local identities have also meant that Khami had to be forgotten. Its interpretation has not taken into consideration the identity changes that have taken place in Zimbabwe, from the time that the site was abandoned in 1691 to the present. The overthrow of the Torwa dynasty by the Rozvi, the arrival of Ndebele, the colonisation of the landscape through various legislations and regulations and the postcolonial experience have all contributed to the distancing of the site from those who have ancestral links it to and those who have associations with it.

Amongst the Shona, Khami has become a part of the 'collected memory' (part of their history but with no use in the present) but it has failed to become a part of the 'collective memory' (part of the mediated, remembered and useful history) (Hirst & Manier, 2008: 184). Forgetting Khami does not take away the social resources that support Shona identity, as there are many other similar sites elsewhere in the country that are used as signposts of memory of primal Shona history. Khami has become lost to modern Shona narratives due to its location in an area that is now regarded as Ndebele. Among the previously 'Shona' groups in Matabeleland (Kalanga, Nambya and Venda), Khami does not arouse emotions, as they have taken up different identities which sometimes emphasizes Ndebele culture rather than their own.

The constant shift of population since the abandonment of Khami and the changes of identities that took place since the arrival of the Ndebele on the Zimbabwe plateau has also meant that generational memories have been severed leading to a state in which the population of Matabeleland fails to engage with heritage created before the arrival of the Ndebele. On the other hand, the overwhelmingly Shona state is selective on what can become a part of the national narrative. This narrative emphasises the long occupation of the Zimbabwe plateau by the 'Shona', the development of complex state systems and urbanisation and the colonisation and liberation of the nation. In this narrative the unity of purpose is also emphasised through constantly used terms like *Mhuri ye Zimbabwe* (the Zimbabwean family), as well as marking of territory through heritage and 'natural' boundaries (Zambezi and Limpopo) as if this territory was not accessible to other groups from elsewhere. This national memory, whose highlight is the Zimbabwe Culture and the liberation of the nation, is repeated in various events, symbols and rituals in an attempt to create a composite image of a nation. The truth is that Zimbabwe is not homogenous but a multicultural society that has migrants from (and has provided migrants to) all territories around it from time immemorial. It is the mono-cultural society that the state has tried to create that has

also constructed a heritage discourse that concentrates on a few selected sites which are then conserved and celebrated away from the other sites generically selected as 'national monuments'.

These interpretations of history and culture that emphasises the long presence of the 'Shona' on the Zimbabwe plateau show a lack of understanding culture and its dynamism. At a very simple level, this kind of thinking does not recognise that the name 'Shona' may not be culturally familiar to those groups who were part of this civilisation but have a different identity today. The common name of the various 'Shona' groups was either Karanga or Kalanga and the use of the name 'Shona' has pronounced differences that hardly existed between the Kalanga and the modern 'Shona' before colonisation. When the Zimbabwe culture is attributed to the 'Shona', it denies other related groups the heritage of the Zimbabwe Culture. In response to this, many of these groups have slowly forgotten that heritage, while others like the emerging Kalanga nationalists argue that the 'Shona', like the Ndebele are recent arrivals in Zimbabwe (see Moyo, 2012).

This celebration by the state, though countered by local memory, is repeated so regularly that it becomes the history of the nation. Minorities find themselves suffocated by this celebration of a hegemonic culture of a majority and engage in 'active forgetting' to create a viable counter-identity (Legg, 2007: 46). Both the larger Shona majority, who celebrate Zimbabwe Culture and the minority, the Ndebele related groups, who feel overwhelmed by cultural heritage that has come to represent a single group in Zimbabwe, have actively forgotten the Khami World Heritage Site. Disinheriting a site like Khami is therefore not carelessness but can also be a 'liberating mechanism' (Legg, 2007: 459) for the new Ndebele identity that has developed over a period of a century and half and has endured an overwhelming Shona identity in the postcolony. Memories thus do not fade on their own accord, people make an effort to forget as much as they make efforts to remember the past (Harrison, 2004: 135).

Khami is un-inherited not because the state has been careless, but because it has no use for it in its narrative and the communities in the Matabeleland region have no use for it in the creation of their own identities. The over-promotion of the Zimbabwe Culture heritage by the state has had a numbing effect in Matabeleland and this has led to the disinheriting of Khami, which becomes a representative of a hegemonic Shona culture that has dominated post-independent narratives. Its global presence is not important at the local level as the site does not empower the local populations economically or boost their identities. The state has also disregarded the site's World Heritage status as shown by the under-funding of preservation projects at the site as well as its continued absence on itineraries of important cultural and tourist places. In my discussion with a cultural activist from Bulawayo, there was disappointment in a new list of sites named 'Wonders of Zimbabwe' in which Khami was the only World Heritage site that was excluded on this list (Nyathi, interview, 2012).

Conversely this exclusion can also be experienced at a local level: popular local cultural organisations in Bulawayo, such as the *Amakhosi* (the Kings) and Mzilikazi Cultural Association, in conjunction with the Zimbabwe Tourism Authority (a government body that markets tourism) have also excluded Khami in their project aimed at the 'development of narratives on the history of Bulawayo' (see *The Chronicle*, Wednesday, 28 November 2012). These organisations have developed a project to market ('Bulawayo and its surrounding environs') through heritage festivals. Several heritage places that identify with Bulawayo have been selected and these include sites mainly in the Matobo Cultural Landscape (Mhlahlandlela, Mzilikazi's Grave and Old Bulawayo). The exclusion of Khami is deliberate: Khami is not a part of the history of the Ndebele and would be difficult to celebrate as 'Bulawayo heritage'.

The postcolony is not a space that is devoid of colonial debris. The colonial experience left a catastrophic effect on collective memories of indigenous people throughout the world. Colonialism not only changed and emphasised certain identities, it also gave people new identities. Colonial policies were deliberately insensitive to those things that were sacrosanct to native societies largely because the colonising states realised that destroying identities also destroyed the wish to remain independent and/or create distinct societies. The dismembering of the landscape and the later removal of the population through insensitive policies and 'development' also had a negative effect on the collective memory of societies that had previously revered the site. Once the site became a tourist destination in which 'foreigners' held sway, it also began to fade from the memories of the communities. Though the nationalist struggles revived an identity linked to these ancient sites, only a few of these sites were selected in the construction of the new national identity. Khami was not one of them and therefore, again, continued to be peripheral to the memory of the nation.

But all this does not mean that the heritage place will not be the subject of new stories and narratives. Many forgotten sites have become social resources again especially in times where social change is rapid as the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape in South Africa has shown. It has become a focus for the Venda in a post-apartheid South Africa even though their connection to the site is distant and controversial, for example, but it is also celebrated by the rest of South Africans. In a nation that celebrates its diversity, this site, though claimed by a minority, has become a source for a narrative that emphasises invention, ingenuity and diversity of the new South Africa. This heritage landscape, which was neglected in apartheid South Africa, has been redeemed and has become the premier cultural monument. How this heritage landscape has been remembered and forgotten gives an insight into how the state's narrative is important in the creation of heritage and its conservation. It also show how a community that had forgotten its past can revive it in a new way that does not reflect continuity or require concrete ancestral connections.

The postcolonial nation is not a pre-existing entity (Ravengai, 2010: 168) but a new negotiated space that keeps changing. Cultural policies need to recognise this and create narratives that appreciate the salient changes that communities go through as they interact with a globalising world. Many postcolonial nations seem to freeze time (and space) for their citizens. Zimbabwe has become a good example of this with its archaic narratives that strip citizens of their right to belong. Many Zimbabweans, for example, have lost their citizenship just by becoming dual citizens or because their parents were not born in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwe needs to recognise that some of its citizens have become bicultural and therefore narratives should recognise that identities are fluid and that sometimes people can have multiple identities. The nation always has trans-local actors who play a part in creating new identities (churches, NGOs, international cooperation agencies and foreigners living in the country), as well as transcontinental influences through travel, media and from diaspora experiences. Identity, therefore, is not only pronounced by ethnicity but what and who the ethnic group comes into contact with.

The foundation myth is always contested in multicultural societies. The foundation myth erases certain histories that make the nation uncomfortable. Mapungubwe presented an uncomfortable history to an apartheid South African nation just as much as the colonial experience is uncomfortable to most countries in Africa. Colonial histories are therefore never a part of the foundation myth of most nations in Africa. The problem with the Zimbabwean foundation myth is its inclination towards 'parochial Shona ethnocentrism' (Ravengai, 2010: 169), which not only 'subsumes the memory of other ethnic groups' (Muchemwa, 2005: 211) but also denies related groups (Kalanga, Venda, Nambya) access to their history and common ancestry. It has also become obsolete in the face of four million of its citizens living in the diaspora who have in some ways becomes bicultural. The narrative does not seem to recognise the changes that communities have gone through since independence.

Muchemwa (2005: 201) aptly summarises this 'ethnocentrism' best:

> the enforced recourse of an ancestral memory marks the continuity of an ethnocentric Shona ancestral imagination that has threatened to subsume the memory of other groups in this country. Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Black immigrants cannot occupy spaces opened up by myths of indigeneity … Foundation myths have, despite progressive and recuperative intentions, an unfortunate habit of othering, and evicting the other from the father's house.
>
> (Muchemwa, 2005: 202)

These current narratives are exclusive and are based on the notion that identities are static and that people will interpret the past in the same way because of common ancestry and experiences (Ravengai, 2010). It denies

space to every recent immigrant, focuses on a paternalistic view of citizenship where descendants of female Zimbabweans and 'foreigners' cannot claim to indigeneity. Yet, Zimbabweans have multiple identities brought about by the contexts they have lived in, not only in Zimbabwe but throughout the world. With the current situation where it is estimated that over four million Zimbabwean live in the diaspora, the nation would do well to prepare for the multiplicity of identities when some of the exiles return. It has to recognise that dissonant histories are as valuable to nationhood as much as the stories that the nation finds easier to tell. This preparation should include the widening of the authorised narrative to incorporate stories of the minorities so that they feel they are a component of the nation. As Machingura and Machingura (2011: 48) noted in their study of Afro-Germans, 'people take into consideration their '*identity*' by looking at how they are regarded in public by mainstream society'. The Ndebele identity has certainly been pronounced by how the Zimbabwean narrative has excluded the different groups that compose this entity. As a result, views on heritage and identity become radical and some cultural heritage which may have been a part of their ethnic narratives are disposed of in the adoption of those heritages that emphasizes the preferred identities better. While the nation uses heritage to situate itself in a globalising world, communities are also trying to situate themselves within the nation. In other words, the nation can never have a monopoly to discourses about the past (Stutz, 2013: 175).

As an African country that is very vocal about the under-representation of the continent on the World Heritage List, Zimbabwe should be sensitive to the subordination of cultural heritage of communities within its own borders too. The over-dependency on archaeology in shaping the national narrative in a nation where about 30 per cent may be recent immigrants to the territory, has tended to 'evict the other from the father's house' (Muchemwa 2005) and has resulted in a lack of concern for that heritage which is regarded as belonging to the majority Shona, especially in Matabeleland region. South Africa's shared narrative approach seems more successful in creating a nation that can recognise difference and still regard itself as a single entity. This approach seems to have been adopted in Zimbabwe's new constitution, which now recognises 'the nation's diverse cultural, religious and traditional values' and forces 'the state and all institutions and agencies of government [...] to preserve and protect Zimbabwe's heritage' (Republic of Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). It recognises all languages including languages of recent migrants. My hope is that this new constitution may be the basis for new cultural heritage legislations that are more inclusive and sensitive to minority heritages.

8 Khami

The lost landscape

This book has shown that un-inherited places are a result of a process of disinheriting, which can be both intentional and unintentional. The cultural biography of Khami is therefore a mediated history of a place that shows political objectives of a cavalcade of changing polities from the Rozvi, right down to the postcolonial government. Each of these polities has selectively remembered the past, conveniently forgetting different aspects of it for different reasons. Khami offered a counter-narrative for those the Rozvi, Ndebele, as well as the colonial and postcolonial states subjugated. It is therefore not a surprise that each incoming group required the muting of local memory in legitimising their rule and privileging one identity over another. Unintentionally, the postcolonial state has also silenced Khami through the continued misinterpretation of the landscape's biography, due to its approach to national history as a single, homogenizing narrative. The result is a heritage place that is un-inherited and that fails to stimulate community interest in the same way that Great Zimbabwe or Mapungubwe do. The book has also concluded that overcoming this state of being un-inherited requires a process of recovering the biography of the place through a new reading of Khami's social life. Essentially, this process can be achieved through the use of a cultural landscape approach to unravel the layers of history of use, the identities associated with the place, as well as to identify the lost components of the landscape through an understanding of narratives.

The consequences of being un-inherited have been clearly shown in the preceding chapters. Stakeholders are unaware of their status and thus do not participate in Khami's protection. Even the Bulawayo City Council, which stands to gain financially from tourism at Khami, does not understand the effects of its expansion towards the heritage place. Furthermore, NMMZ has also participated in this process through the ways in which it identifies heritage places as sites, with the result that Khami has been lost to communities in the postcolonial era. It is NMMZ's failure in engaging the various 'communities' at Khami that perpetuates the un-inheriting of the Khami World Heritage Site.

To turn this situation around, a number of steps are required. The first step is the reclaiming of the cultural landscape at Khami and the reconstruction

of narratives that once made Khami a sacred landscape, an important tourist destination as well as an archaeological site worth researching. Great Zimbabwe and other sites like Manyanga, Matobo and Domboshava have been enriched by the participation and contestations of various groups and communities. The Executive Director of the NMMZ aptly summarised the problems that could be faced when a heritage place is not a cornerstone of communities' collective memories:

> We are trying to move away from the experiences of the colonial period … We believe that for heritage to continue to have relevance, it has to be used … The major challenge at Khami is lack of a community. Communities are what drives conservation at Great Zimbabwe … for Khami right now there is no community to talk about … and [because of that] you don't benefit from community interaction.
>
> (Mahachi, interview, 2012)

Khami has lost its social and economic functions and has also ceased to be a theatre for group or national identity (Osborne, 2001: 4). As a result it is not a part of the social geography of Karanga/Kalanga related groups in Matabeleland, nor does it feed into present Shona/Karanga narratives of a glorious past. Through this, Khami has lost a significant part of its 'biography' that could have informed collective memories. As Tilley (1994: 33) suggests, 'places, like persons, have biographies in as much as they are formed, used, and transformed in relation to practice' and this biography is expressed through the layers of the various uses of landscape over a period of time.

At Khami however, NMMZ has been managing only that portion of this 'biography' constituted by material remains and even these material remains are abbreviated by the apportionment of the original cultural landscape. As a result, Khami is an important archaeological site (it is a National Monument and World Heritage Site) but it is not 'heritage' in the sense that it is has not been inherited by any community and has not become a narrative resource for the Zimbabwe story. Khami does not catch the attention of the nation in the same that Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe do in Zimbabwe and South Africa respectively.

One consequence of this is that it has suffered through the expansion of Bulawayo City and faces serious environmental problems that include the pollution of the river, the destruction of vegetation and could suffer from increased population in the future as the farms around the site are further subdivided for urban agriculture (Town Planner, City of Bulawayo, interview, 2012). This planned development will further split the cultural landscape and affect the cultural remains from the Khami phase not in NMMZ control. Much of the area around Khami is used for cattle rearing and the introduction of intensive agriculture in the area will see fertilisers leaching into the river and archaeological sites destroyed by ploughing and irrigation.

Unlike at Great Zimbabwe and Mapungubwe, however, there have been no contestations to the pollution of the environment or the planned expansion of the city towards Khami by either the state or by 'communities'. Heritage forms part of the connective structure of a society or culture (Brockmeier, 2002: 18) and Khami's failure to become a part of this multi-component structure stems from the fact that it is regarded as the heritage of the 'other' in 'Matabeleland' and as lost heritage in 'Mashonaland'. As a result, it is not promoted at both state and provincial level and, therefore, conservation of the landscape does not benefit from community interaction and interventions, as has happened at the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape when it became threatened by coal mining.

The landscape at Khami lost its important components (for example: the island on which sacred rituals were carried out; the fauna-sacred crocodiles were shot in 1947; the removal of sacred artefacts through insensitive research) and in the process lost what made it important to communities. The Khami River was an important part of the landscape and its destruction through the building of dams and pollution of the river changed the perception of the society on the importance of the cultural landscape represented at Khami. As Tilley propounds, 'remembrance is a process solidified from things and spatial encounters' (1994: 27) and when a landscape is dismembered, 'things' are scattered and encounters are limited by legislation, whilst collective memories about a place are disrupted and sometimes lost. When the role of people in landscape creation and management is not emphasized in interpretation, communities also tend to lose interest in a heritage place. Khami's continued interpretation as a 'Shona site' when some of the 'Shona' don't identify themselves as such, alienates the site from that section of the population.

Identity changes in Matabeleland have meant that Khami is a heritage place with cross-cultural significance but it has not been interpreted as such. In changing identities one cannot create new memories without selecting something to forget (Harrison, 2013: 2). The layered nature of identities in the region means that some of the cultural icons that pronounced previous identities were forgotten. The mono-narrative the postcolonial state of Zimbabwe has adopted has meant that interpretation of heritage places like Khami does not take into account 'all the groups that have contributed to the historical and cultural significance' of the place (Ename Charter, Principle 3: 3). The 'bureaucracy of national memory' (Osborne, 2001: 9) in Zimbabwe (like in all nations) requires a sense of sameness, but this is impossible to acquire in a multicultural state, and is difficult even among the so-called homogenous groups.

With new identities, the resonance of past events changes over time and interpretations have to be sensitive to this. Heritage managers have to understand that there is no natural connection between communities and heritage, there is only careful selection of what is to be regarded as heritage. Just because Kalanga/Karanga ancestors took part in the construction and

occupation of Khami does not make them natural inheritors of the heritage place. They may choose to venerate something that is not related to their past before the arrival of the Ndebele. Defining communities is therefore a very difficult task among communities that may have gone through several changes in their identity.

The un-inheriting of Khami shows that when tensions of identity are not managed well in multi-cultural societies, they affect how people perceive national heritage and this has serious consequences for the management of heritage places and the management of the state as well. Suppressed identities and ethnicities can have a negative function in a state and instead of having peacefully competing identities, the state may end up with the heritage of the other being viewed as images of enmity (Kaarsholm, 1992: 168). It is not the World Heritage status that determines the conservation status of a site but the local contexts in which it is found. Khami proves that a past is not saved by the preservation measures that heritage managers put in place or by inclusion on some global list. There is a need to recognise that preservation is not only physical nor is it limited to national institutions that have the mandate to manage these sites.

Heritage places are only preserved when they are managed as social resources of contemporary societies and when they are at the core of what society wants to remember (Harrison, 2004). Khami's absence in the memory of the state and the communities living near it, continues to be apparent. Recent articles in a daily newspaper based in Bulawayo display the extent to which Khami has been un-inherited. One of the articles discusses the marketing of Bulawayo and heritage sites around it for tourism destination branding. This is a project to be carried out by a prominent cultural organisation supported by the City of Bulawayo (Amakhosi) and the Zimbabwe Tourism Association (ZTA), the umbrella body for tourism in Zimbabwe. This project was a destination development project for the City of Bulawayo and the surrounding areas and did not mention Khami (a major WHS) as one of the destination for visitors to Bulawayo, even though it is the closest and most accessible heritage site to the city (Katunga, 2012). It mainly focused on marketing Ndebele sites near Bulawayo. In another article in a national Newspaper (*The Herald*) discussing the possible delisting of Victoria Falls due to over-development, only four sites are mentioned as World Heritage sites: Khami is excluded from this list even though it is one of the first Zimbabwean heritage places to be nominated on the World Heritage List (*The Herald*, Monday, 14 January 2013).

Custodians of heritage places like NMMZ can therefore preserve the physical remains, but they can never be the custodians of the collective memory of the site. That aspect of heritage conservation requires the participation of communities as equals in the management process of heritage sites in Zimbabwe. Playing a huge part in disseminating the national narrative to the nation, NMMZ is viewed with suspicion in Matabeleland as it is in other regions too. The narrative that it disseminates through exhibitions and

interpretation of the monuments it preserves are usually part of the centripetal forces of the state, which are bound to be resisted by sub-nationalities who view this national story as hegemonic.

Is it then possible to reverse the process of being un-inherited? The experience at Mapungubwe shows that when a site carries the narrative resource that the nation wants to use it will gain prominence and will receive conservation attention. Such good fortune can change in a short period of time, as a change of government in South Africa has shown in the case Mapungubwe. Heritage is a phenomenon that requires deliberate construction and maintenance. However, it is not restricted to governments, for communities can construct their own narratives that counter the master narrative of the government. They may take the government narrative even further and become a heritage place's protector when the state decides not to protect it. The South African government, in focusing on the extractive industry during a resource boom as a source of revenue, did not expect resistance to a mining project that would have benefitted local communities. But collective memory, whether recently constructed or maintained for centuries, is difficult to ignore when material remains have been adopted as part of an identity. Heritage places are not only constituted by physical remains, but by collective memories that the heritage place is a cornerstone for. It is not a natural phenomenon but a process that begins in the human creation of memory. Mapungubwe clearly shows the social nature of memory and how heritage is produced and adopted for various social and economic needs.

At Khami, there is a need to reconnect communities with this landscape through a re-interpretation of its archaeology through a cultural landscape approach and a pluralist understanding of its history. This not only requires a recognition of its multiple histories, but also a change in how the post-colonial discipline of archaeology reads politically abbreviated cultural landscapes like Khami and other Zimbabwe Culture places. Archaeology in Zimbabwe (and southern Africa) cannot continue to operate in a bubble, but should also engage other disciplines like political science and cultural geography in trying to understand how memory is formed and how it still affects the interpretation of the past (Pikirayi, 2009: 126). More importantly archaeology in Africa should engage African knowledge systems and try to understand the hidden meanings in cultural landscapes.

In a more democratic dispensation that is provided by Zimbabwe's new constitution, NMMZ must learn to move out of the structures of power that minorities in Zimbabwe resent and play its part in disseminating counter-narratives that recognise Zimbabwe's cultural diversity and multiple identities. Maybe in this, sites like Khami which have lost custodian communities and have clouded cultural biographies could again be a part of the collective memories of local communities as well as the nation. It is also essential for NMMZ to reconstitute the historical landscape that was once Khami if it wishes to involve communities in the management of the heritage place. This requires the identification of not only

the main physical features present at the site, but excavating the layers of Khami's biography since its abandonment and also recognising that Khami has a non-descent local community (no ancestral connection), but also a non-local descent community (living elsewhere but with ancestral connections) and is therefore difficult to manage when compared to Great Zimbabwe, which has local descent communities (ancestral connection and living near the site) (Pikirayi, 2011). Reaching out to these communities maybe difficult but NMMZ has to do this through changing the methods that are currently used to research, interpret and preserve this cultural landscape. NMMZ also needs to realise that even 'cosmopolitan' populations, made of people with no ancestral link to a particular region, require heritage—they just use it differently from those so-called 'less knowledgeable' traditional societies. Thus, NMMZ's belief that only those with direct ancestral connections to a site can regard it as heritage, a belief that was constantly cited in my conversations with NMMZ staff (Lonke Nyoni, Mahachi, interviews, 2012) and which is also discussed by other independent archaeologists (Chirikure et al., 2010) is not a sufficient excuse for the difficulties faced in engaging communities around Khami. The celebration of heritage at Old Bulawayo and the Matobo Cultural Landscape shows that this same 'cosmopolitan population' does require heritage and uses it in defining various identities.

Memory, identities and the un-inheriting of Khami

To maintain collective memory society requires the social resources (artefacts, monuments and archaeological sites, landscapes, narratives) to act as reminders. Not everything is qualified to be a social resource. There are heritages that remain ineffective and inactive in contemporary situations. Khami is one of those heritage places that has no use locally or nationally (Hirst & Manier 2008: 186). It does not attract discourses of 'political expediency' on the part of the state or communities around it, nor is it subject to the 'hegemony of the tourism market', like Great Zimbabwe and Victoria Falls; and so it does not enter 'the mode of actuality' where memory is related to contemporary situations and the needs of the community and state (Hirst & Manier, 2008: 186). Currently, Khami has no qualities for creating social and cultural connections, no potential as a tourist attraction and therefore, is not an asset, and as a result, contributes little to the political and identity debates and narratives of the state. Although NMMZ legally owns the heritage place and have the sole role in its conservation, management and interpretation, it has difficulties engaging with communities, largely due to the undemocratic legislation that is used to manage and protect heritage and the lack of pressure from both the communities and the state. This book uses Khami to show how and why heritage sites are contested, commemorated, represented and maintained or conversely ignored and how the national narrative defines what can be preserved or discarded.

As McGregor and Schumaker (2006) observed, how communities relate to heritage places close to or in urban areas is no less complex than those of communities in rural areas. The notion that is given as an excuse for lack of engagement by NMMZ and heritage managers in Zimbabwe that urban populations seem to care less about heritage cannot be true for Bulawayo. As mentioned above, the Old Bulawayo project, which involved the location, excavation and reconstruction of a nineteenth century Ndebele town, generated a lot of interest in the city. Njelele in the Matobo Cultural Landscape has also provided a platform for cultural contestations over who could have access to a sacred shrine that is used traditionally for rain making and cleansing. Recent conflicts show how urban populations in Bulawayo united with the rural population of Matabeleland to resist the 'abuse' of the shrines by people from other regions. Njelele's history goes way back to the Torwa and Rozvi states when the shrine was a religious centre of the state and its origins are therefore, Karanga/Kalanga. The Ndebele elites, however, left the Karanga/Kalanga religious structures intact, but controlled its use through the participation of Ndebele chiefs. The shrine however, continued to be used by people from both 'Mashonaland' and 'Matabeleland', as well as Karanga/Kalanga-related populations in South Africa and Botswana. It was therefore a shrine that was both revered by the Shona and the Ndebele and was always controlled by Kalanga priests. Recently, a group of mainly Shona war veterans demanded access to the shrine for cleansing ceremonies. As war veterans they 'had blood on their hands' and needed to be cleansed so that they could again feel accepted by communities they live in. This was, however, strongly resisted by both the urban and rural Matebeleland populations who saw this as an invasion of their cultural territory. One of the war veterans based in Bulawayo summed up the provinces' protests against the ceremonies:

> While Njelele is a national shrine, it would be only proper that those who want to go there should first consult the leadership in the province. We were not informed and are not happy at all', said Langa. 'It is wrong for chiefs and spiritual leaders from other provinces to walk into our province without the knowledge of the chiefs based in this province. Let us not use the national shrine for personal issues. There is need for the higher offices to intervene so that this problem is stopped.
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> (Financial Gazette Correspondent, 28 August 2012)

This not only goes against the argument that urban populations have little use for heritage but also shows that when it matters, Shona populations can claim heritage places in Matabeleland and that people of Ndebele origin can also claim heritage of the other as their own. It is thus surprising that there is a controversy over Njelele and a silence over Khami by both groups. There are, therefore, other reasons for the silence that accompanies preservation and interpretation of the Khami World Heritage Site. Khami suffers in the

'landscape of minority memory' (Mitchell, 2003: 451) where it is made invisible to counter dominant memory, but also suffers in the 'landscape of majority memory' where it is not the major resource for interpreting the historical epochs that preceded the modern state of Zimbabwe. The destruction of its sacred nature through the years has created a shell which communities have found difficult to interpret and use in their current circumstances. Declaration of such sites as 'National Monument' or 'World Heritage' does not mean they are immune from change; sites deteriorate and people's perceptions of the site change too in the process (Harrison, 2013:4). Its uses in tourism, research, farming and new religions also breached the cultural norms that made it sacred, creating an environment in which it became less important to communities.

As already mentioned, the significance of landscape is not only cumulative but also reducible. This process can result in a disconnect between a heritage place and the communities that it is historically connected to. Once that heritage place has ceased to be a resource for people's identity narratives, it also ceases to be an important post for collective memories of that community. Khami's landscape has been reduced to an extent that it hardly features in Shona, Ndebele and/or national/state narratives. Its history is totally lost and hardly appears in oral narratives; even its original name has been forgotten. There has been a failure of National Museums and Monument of Zimbabwe to read the metaphors of the connection between the Khami the site and the various features (visible and invisible) that surrounds it. With an archaic legislation and heritage managers with colonial perceptions on heritage it has neglected to use the myths and legends to link communities to their heritage.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that Khami should not be preserved. Monuments go through periods in which they are uncelebrated and disinherited, but this may be temporary. They become dynamic again, as the example of Mapungubwe shows. Khami itself is currently appearing in new narratives of Kalanga nationalists who are trying to distinguish themselves from both the mainstream Shona and the Ndebele (Moyo, 2012; Kalanga nationalists in both Zimbabwe and Botswana have recently created a narrative in which the Kalanga alone are the descendants of the people who built the sites of the Zimbabwe Culture and Khami, being the largest Zimbabwe Culture close to them, could become a major site for identity building. Identities are therefore never fixed; rather, they continuously change with socio-economic, political and cultural circumstances. With a new Zimbabwean constitution that recognises all languages as 'official languages' the Kalanga see an opportunity to build a new identity separate from the Ndebele and Shona and this may lead to Khami becoming an important site for them again.

The state of being un-inherited does not mean that a heritage does not have legal protection. Legal protection in itself does not place a heritage place at the centre of memory. It is its mental abandonment that makes it un-inherited

and this can lead to conservation problems that Khami experiences today. A site like Khami may be recognised as a 'National Monument' and a World Heritage site, but unless that it is of some use to the preferred national or local narrative, it will not feature in cultural narratives or tourism itineraries designed by the state. For local communities, a site that feeds into their identity is much more valued even if it doesn't attract hordes of tourists or the attention of the whole nation or world. For a site to become iconic it has to have relevance to contemporary societies and Khami fails in this regard. It is not because it is a 'Shona/Kalanga' site in an Ndebele dominated region, but because it may have lost some of its important components through the subdivision of the land, development and eviction of communities. In fact, heritage does not require ancestral connections for it to be celebrated. The same 'Shona/Kalanga' sites in the Matobo Cultural Landscape are revered by the Ndebele who have little ancestral connection to them (Nyathi & Ndiweni, 2003). Societies and nations select what to remember and in that process of remembering, the act of forgetting is crucial in building new identities. Memories are conditioned by the contexts in which people find themselves.

Through this example we come to realise that heritage managers can manage heritage places, but they cannot manage collective memories of a place – that realm is the preserve of those whose identity is intimately linked to it. Heritage managers therefore need to realise that their work is not to identify what is important but to involve the community in identifying what is important to the interpretation of heritage places. Alas, NMMZ does not realise that it is a 'purveyor of knowledge that counts' (Smith, L., 2006: 125) and has ideological superiority over the communities that have claims over heritage places. Its legislation does not allow individuals or community ownership of heritage places. This creates an environment in which heritage managers feel they cannot be informed by communities in the management of heritage places as NMMZ 'owns the properties' and has privileged knowledge created through research. It also has the support of the law of the state and unless this law is changed to allow communities to own and interpret heritage places, some sites will always be more celebrated than others. With a new constitution that recognises the diversity of cultures in Zimbabwe the National Museums and Monuments can also take a chance to open up to dialogues of minority communities, as well as recognising that heritage cannot be frozen and will always attract new uses and users. These new uses, though sometimes at tangent with African cultures, can be foundations for building relationships with communities in the management of heritage. A post-liberation philosophy may emerge from this new constitution and it will need to re-examine how minority stories and other new narratives emerging from diaspora experiences and identities can be included in a new and inclusive national narrative in Zimbabwe.

The issue of how cultural nationalism has affected the selection, promotion and conservation of heritage in the postcolonial state needs to be discussed by archaeologists and heritage managers in Zimbabwe and not

just by political commentators and historians. Khami's absence from the national narrative is, in part, a direct result of how archaeologists have focused their research around authorised narratives. With Great Zimbabwe being well funded and revered by both the state and the majority 'Shona' population, archaeologists have for years adopted 'the–follow-the-money approach' in designing research agendas. It is hoped that this book will bring in archaeologists, heritage managers and cultural theorists into debates about cultural nationalism and its effects on minorities, and expand research agendas to include those sites that may not have cultural popularity as a result of state amnesia. Heritage practitioners should also recognise that interpretation, whether as a part of an academic discussion or an exhibition, is a powerful tool that can dominant narratives. All heritage needs to be viewed as plural, as all countries have a minority (Harrison, 2010). More importantly, however, the book shines light on how far heritage sites can become un-inherited when the multiplicity of cultures is ignored in defining territory after a colonial experience. It also examines the measures that can be taken to address a situation where a globally celebrated site can be neglected locally through a selective celebration of national heritage by the state and its dominant majority.

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